

Report of the Delegation
of the
United States of America
to the
Inter-American Conference for the
Maintenance of Peace

Buenos Aires, Argentina

December 1-23, 1936



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REPORT

OF THE DELEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA TO THE INTER-AMERICAN CON-
FERENCE FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE

REPORT OF THE DELEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace was held at Buenos Aires, Argentina, December 1-23, 1936, upon the suggestion made on January 30, 1936, by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in personal letters addressed to the chief executives of all the Latin American republics (appendix 1, p. 45).

President Roosevelt stated in these letters that it was his sincere conviction that the time had arrived when the American republics "through their designated representatives seated at a common council table, should seize this altogether favorable opportunity to consider their joint responsibility and their common need of rendering less likely in the future the outbreak or the continuation of hostilities between them, and by so doing, serve in an eminently practical manner the cause of permanent peace on this Western Continent". He accordingly suggested that an extraordinary inter-American conference be summoned "to determine how the maintenance of peace among the American republics may best be safeguarded" and pointed out that whatever steps might be taken to this end would advance the cause of world peace, in as much as the agreements reached would supplement and reinforce the efforts of other existing or future peace agencies in seeking to prevent war. The suggestion proposed by President Roosevelt was unanimously approved by the presidents of the other twenty American republics members of the Pan American Union.

President Roosevelt in his letter to the chiefs of states suggested that the Conference be summoned to assemble at Buenos Aires, should the Government of the Argentine Republic so desire, or, if not, at some other capital of the continent. President Agustín P. Justo, of Argentina, in replying to the letter from President Roosevelt, accepted the suggestion that Buenos Aires be made the seat of the proposed Conference. All the governments were agreeable to having the Conference at Buenos Aires, and, hence, on August 20, 1936, the Argentine Government extended an official invitation to all the governments of America to send representatives to Buenos Aires for the opening of the Conference on December 1, 1936.

UNITED STATES DELEGATION

President Roosevelt, on October 31, 1936, designated the following delegates to represent the United States at this Conference:

Chairman of the Delegation:

The Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State;

Delegates:

Sumner Welles, Assistant Secretary of State;

Alexander W. Weddell, United States Ambassador to Argentina;

Adolf A. Berle, Jr., Chamberlain of New York City;

Alexander F. Whitney, President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen;

Charles G. Fenwick, Professor of Political Science, Bryn Mawr College;

Michael Francis Doyle, Lawyer, Philadelphia;

Mrs. Elise F. Musser, State Senator, Utah.

The entire personnel of the Delegation is listed as appendix 4 of this report (p. 49). Most of the members of the Delegation sailed from New York on November 7, 1936, on the steamship *American Legion*. The Secretary of State took advantage of the opportunity to visit Brazil and Uruguay *en route* to Buenos Aires, where he renewed acquaintances established during his trip to the Seventh International Conference of American States at Montevideo in 1933.*

The Delegation arrived at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, on November 19, 1936, where the Secretary of State was welcomed at the pier by the Cabinet of Brazil. On the evening of the same day a banquet was tendered by His Excellency Dr. José Carlos de Macedo Soares, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, at which the Minister and the Secretary of State each made an address. The Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs said in part as follows:

Our America undoubtedly possesses problems and principles of its own. For this reason, the Conference which has been convoked by the great President Roosevelt and is to be presided over by President Justo, should take into consideration measures of a purely American nature in order to meet the favorable conditions and special needs which are solely of continental interest. We must not, at the start, be induced toward universality of the inter-American juridical regime for the maintenance of peace, which in most cases is more theoretical than real.

Our respective nations, filled with a decidedly pacific spirit, based on a sincere desire of mutual cooperation among the people of America, will participate in the Conference of Buenos Aires, ready to do some constructive work leading the way to the end so close to all our hearts.

* *Addresses and Statements by the Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States of America, in Connection with His Trip to South America to attend the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace held at Buenos Aires, Argentina, December 1-23, 1936* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937).

The primary aim is, no doubt, the consolidation of peace on this continent, true to the inclination and the historical growth of the states therein, whose natural tendencies it is our duty to develop. All efforts will evidently be directed to this purpose.

We shall examine, besides, with the truest spirit of cooperation, the suggestions of an economic or cultural nature, or any other which may avoid conflicts.

The following extracts are taken from the reply of the Secretary of State:

It is no ordinary occasion that draws together the representatives of the twenty-one American republics at Buenos Aires. We are followed by high hopes of all the peoples of a great continent. No immediate difference among us necessitates our gathering. No prevailing fear or profound mistrust compels us to maintain our guards one against the other. There are no deep hatreds among us such as might thwart our impulse to be friends. We are not animated by calculations of special advantage such as might cleave us apart.

Purposes of another kind draw us together. We are impelled by the wish to make known and effective the beliefs and desires which we have in common. We are responding to our need of declaring and carrying forward in unison our common ideals. We meet to affirm our trust and friendship, to combine our faith, to make sure that peace shall prevail among us, and to repudiate with our whole mind and spirit those aims and philosophies that bring nations into conflict and send weary men to march over gas-poisoned battlefields. At Buenos Aires we shall seek the most effective and durable expression of this joint will to advance the ideals of peace between nations, government by the consent of the people, and esteem for human welfare as the basis of government. We shall seek ratification of the written agreements—for the most part in existence—in which these purposes are embodied. It is these tasks that bid us assemble at Buenos Aires.

Despite the endless wars that have marked all the known past of the world, we must believe that the masses of people not only on this continent but elsewhere in the world will soon insist upon peace in international relations and be willing to live in a way that will bring peace. If we, the American republics, manifest this faith and purpose, if we show our willingness to ratify the pledges of peace between us, these events will be hailed everywhere. The people of those countries outside this hemisphere will not be heedless of our example. Nor can we be heedless of theirs. For war anywhere in the world must disturb and threaten peace everywhere.

These addresses are printed as appendixes 12 and 13 of this report (pp. 98 and 105).

The Delegation arrived at Montevideo, Uruguay, on November 24, 1936, where the Secretary of State was welcomed by His Excellency José Espalter, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uruguay. The Secretary of State, in expressing his especial pleasure in revisiting Montevideo, made the following statement:

Few cities are as beautiful as Montevideo, and few indeed have such a permanent place in my affections. It is, therefore, a great personal pleasure for me to return to the place in which was inaugurated, by mutual collaboration, a new era in inter-American relationships. In returning to the site of the Seventh International Conference of American States, I am reminded that in many ways it has proved the most fruitful and constructive of recent international

gatherings. This is an omen that, with cooperation and mutual good-will, the coming Buenos Aires Conference will advance the cause of peace and economic understanding to a stage not yet attained in the Americas.

There can be no doubt that we have at this time a unique opportunity to demonstrate to the world what friendly and neighboring nations, animated only by friendship, cooperation, and mutual good-will, can accomplish in a conference of equals. A basis for international peace and economic well-being should be established, to serve as an inspiration and guide to a world sorely needing the leadership of enlightened statesmanship.

Let us re-dedicate ourselves to the cause of peace and economic progress. By so doing our example should be a torch to light the path of peace for a troubled world.

The Delegation arrived at Buenos Aires, Argentina, on November 25, 1936, at which time the Secretary of State made the following statement:

I am completely confident that under the leadership of that great statesman, His Excellency Dr. Carlos Saavedra Lamas, and with the collaboration of our distinguished colleagues from the American republics, we will achieve marked success in removing the remaining obstacles to the future peace and prosperity of this hemisphere. We come here determined to make this Conference an example of unselfish cooperation.

This confidence is strengthened by the cordiality and friendly understanding attending the preliminary conversations as to our aims and purposes at Buenos Aires.

I have reason to know that the great leaders of the American republics are animated by a sincere and determined resolve to banish forever from this continent the possibility of a resort to armed force.

I know they share with me the firm belief that it is only through the removal of causes of misunderstanding and friction arising out of obstacles to intercourse, both spiritual and commercial, that this imperative objective can be attained.

We shall be glad indeed to participate in the Conference convened for such a lofty purpose by the Argentine Government in Buenos Aires. We are also most happy to have the privilege of joining with the people of this great nation in celebrating the four-hundredth anniversary of the founding of their magnificent capital city.

It is our sincere hope that here we may establish a record of constructive accomplishment. This will be a shining example to the world of the results that can be obtained when nations, joined as equals, collaborating in a sincere spirit of unselfishness, sympathetic understanding, and mutual confidence, prepare the path for peace.

OTHER DELEGATIONS

The governments of all the twenty-one American republics were represented at the Conference. The delegations of the following eleven countries were headed by their respective Ministers of Foreign Affairs: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Honduras, Nicaragua, United States of America, and Uruguay. The list of the members of the delegations is printed as appendix 4 of this report (p. 49). The former President of Panama, the Honorable Harmodio Arias, and the former President of Nicaragua, the

Honorable José María Moncada, also were delegates. Dr. Juan Stefanich, Foreign Minister of Paraguay, was present at the closing session and addressed the Conference. Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan American Union, was *ex-officio* a member of the Conference, and Dr. William Manger, Counselor of the Union, also attended.

In accordance with article IV of the Regulations of the Conference (appendix 5, p. 57), the order of precedence of the delegations was determined by lot at the first session of the Conference, as follows: Argentina, Paraguay, Honduras, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Peru, El Salvador, Mexico, Brazil, Uruguay, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Colombia, Panama, United States of America, Chile, Ecuador, Bolivia, Haiti, and Cuba.

AGENDA

The agenda, as formulated, was based on the suggestions submitted by the several governments members of the Pan American Union. The definitive agenda was approved by the Governing Board of the Union on July 22, 1936. In approving it the Governing Board adopted the following resolution:

The Governing Board of the Pan American Union, having examined the Report of the Committee and the Project of Program and Regulations of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace,

RESOLVES:

To approve these documents and to recommend to the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace that, in harmony with the report of the Committee, preferential consideration be given to the questions relating to the organization of peace and that the Conference determine which of the other topics, whether of an economic, commercial or cultural character, are sufficiently ripe or merit a sufficiently general consensus of approval to make advisable their consideration; as well as those which should be referred to special conferences or to the Eighth International Conference of American States.

One of the first acts of the Conference was the ratification of this resolution recommending that the committees give preferential consideration to questions relating to the organization of peace (resolution I, appendix 27, p. 209).

The following is the definitive agenda as approved by the Governing Board:

PROGRAM OF THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE

I

ORGANIZATION OF PEACE

1. Methods for the prevention and pacific settlement of inter-American disputes.

- (a) Consideration of possible causes of controversy and of measures for their peaceful solution, excepting questions already settled by treaties.
- (b) Coordination and perfecting of existing international instruments for the maintenance of peace, and desirability of incorporating them in one instrument.
- (c) Consideration of additional measures for the maintenance of peace and the pacific settlement of inter-American controversies.
- (d) Measures intended to secure the prompt ratification of treaties and conventions for the maintenance of peace.
- (e) Generalization of the inter-American juridical system for the maintenance of peace.
- (f) Creation of an Inter-American Court of Justice.

2. Consideration of other measures tending toward closer association of the American Republics and of measures of cooperation with other international entities.

II

NEUTRALITY

3. Consideration of rules regarding the rights and duties of neutrals and belligerents.

III

LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

4. Necessity of limiting the organization and armaments of national defense, so as only to guarantee internal security of the States and their defense against foreign aggression.

IV

JURIDICAL PROBLEMS

- 5. Consideration of methods for the future codification of International Law.
- 6. Formulation of principles with respect to the elimination of force and of diplomatic intervention in cases of pecuniary claims and other private actions.
- 7. Unification of the international American principle and of national legislation with respect to the problems of nationality.

V

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

8. Measures to promote closer economic relations among the American Republics.

- (a) Tariff truces and customs agreements.
 - (b) Agreement on sanitary regulations affecting the interchange of animal and vegetable products.
 - (c) Equality of opportunity in international trade.
 - (d) Financial cooperation.
 - (e) International aspects of the problems of immigration.
 - (f) Promotion of travel.
 - (g) Other measures.
9. Improvement of communication facilities.
- (a) Maritime communications.
 - (b) The Pan American Highway.
 - (c) Other measures.

VI

INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION

10. Measures to promote closer intellectual and cultural relations between the American Republics, and the development of the spirit of moral disarmament.

REGULATIONS

The Regulations for the Conference were likewise formulated and adopted by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union and were based upon the Regulations of the Seventh International Conference of American States, which met in Montevideo, Uruguay, December 3-26, 1933. These are printed as appendix 5 of this report (p. 57).

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE

COMMITTEES

The Conference was organized in accordance with the Regulations adopted by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union on July 22, 1936 (see preceding paragraph). In addition to the two committees for which provision is made in article 8 of the Regulations, viz, Committee on Initiatives and Committee on Credentials, the following committees were designated, on which each delegation was entitled to be represented by one or more of their members:

- Committee I: Organization of Peace;
- Committee II: Neutrality;
- Committee III: Limitation of Armaments;
- Committee IV: Juridical Problems;
- Committee V: Economic Problems;
- Committee VI: Intellectual Cooperation;
- Coordination Committee.

The names of the various delegates serving on the respective committees are printed as appendix 6 of this report (p. 63).

The Committee on Initiatives, also established in accordance with the Regulations, was composed of the chairmen of the various delegations and presided over by the President of the Conference. This Committee functioned as a steering committee and considered in the first instance any new topics which were presented for consideration at the Conference.

SECRETARIAT

The Secretariat of the Conference was organized by the Argentine Government, with the Honorable Felipe A. Espil as Secretary General. Mr. Espil, Ambassador of Argentina at Washington, was chosen in accordance with article 6 of the Regulations.

INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENTIAL BROADCAST

The presidents of the American republics, on November 6, 7, and 10, took part in the most extensive international broadcast ever attempted in the Western Hemisphere. The presidents, speaking directly from their respective capital cities, delivered short messages calling attention to the importance of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace. President Roosevelt, on November 7, took part in this broadcast and extended a word of greeting to the United States Delegation which had sailed from New York on that day for the Conference.

VISIT OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT *

President Roosevelt accepted an invitation from the Government of Argentina to visit that country and participate in the opening session of the Conference on December 1. The President left Washington on November 17, embarking the following day on the U.S.S. *Indianapolis* at Charleston, South Carolina. He arrived in Rio de Janeiro on November 27, where he spent the day ashore as the guest of the President and Government of Brazil. President Roosevelt addressed a special joint session of Congress in the afternoon, and in the evening a banquet was given in his honor by President Getulio Vargas.

On November 30, 1936, the *Indianapolis* arrived at Buenos Aires where, on the next day, the President addressed the opening session of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace. A copy of this address appears as appendix 8 of this report (p. 77).

On December 2, 1936, President Roosevelt again boarded the *Indianapolis* and departed for Montevideo, Uruguay, where on the following day he was the official guest of the Republic of Uruguay. An official luncheon was given in his honor by President Gabriel Terra. Late in the afternoon the *Indianapolis* weighed anchor for return to the United States. On December 15 President Roosevelt landed at Charleston, South Carolina, four weeks to a day after he had left. This was the second time a President of the United States had traveled abroad to attend the opening of an inter-American conference.†

PLENARY SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

The inaugural session of the Conference met in the Legislative Palace on December 1, 1936, when the assembly was addressed by President Agustín P. Justo, of Argentina, and President Franklin D.

* An account of President Roosevelt's trip appears in the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* (Washington, D.C., January 1937).

† President Coolidge attended the opening session of the Sixth International Conference of American States at Habana, Cuba, January 16, 1928.

Roosevelt. These two addresses appear as appendixes 7 and 8 of this report (pp. 73 and 77).

The first plenary session of the Conference was held on December 4, 1936, under the presidency of Dr. Carlos Saavedra Lamas, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Argentina, who had been designated by the President of Argentina to act as temporary chairman. Dr. Saavedra Lamas was elected permanent President of the Conference, and, following his address of welcome, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Uruguay, Dr. José Espalter, replied for the delegations. This was in accordance with the established custom of having the chief of the delegation of the country which had been the host of the preceding conference reply on behalf of the delegates to the address of welcome.

The first plenary session recessed until December 5, when Secretary Hull addressed the Conference and outlined this Government's program for the maintenance of peace on the basis of the "Eight Pillars of Peace" (appendix 9, p. 82).*

These "Eight Pillars of Peace" are summarized as follows:

1. Peoples must be educated for peace. Each nation must make itself safe for peace.
2. Frequent conferences between representatives of nations, and intercourse between their peoples, are essential.
3. The consummation of the five well-known peace agreements will provide adequate peace machinery.
4. In the event of war in this hemisphere, there should be a common policy of neutrality.
5. The nations should adopt commercial policies to bring each that prosperity upon which enduring peace is founded.
6. Practical international cooperation is essential to restore many indispensable relationships between nations and prevent the demoralization with which national character and conduct are threatened.
7. International law should be reestablished, revitalized, and strengthened. Armies and navies are no permanent substitute for its great principles.
8. Faithful observance of undertakings between nations is the foundation of international order, and rests upon moral law, the highest of all law.

The second plenary session met on December 16 and recessed to meet again on December 19. The third and final plenary session took place on December 21.

The Conference recessed to receive a petition bearing over a million names, gathered in fifty countries, which was presented by a delegation of women representing the People's Mandate to End War. The representatives from the United States traveled to Buenos Aires to participate in the presentation, and the petition was formally presented by Mrs. Musser, Delegate of the United States. The Con-

* In this connection see declaration XXVII (appendix 53, p. 227) in which the Conference adopted most of these points as fundamental principles governing the relations between the American republics.

ference adjourned in order to hear addresses by Mrs. Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller, Delegate of Brazil, and Mrs. Caroline O'Day, Congresswoman from New York, on behalf of the Mandate Committee. The People's Mandate to End War represents one of the most significant crystallizations of public opinion for peace that the nations of this hemisphere have ever witnessed.

The closing session of the Conference was held on December 23, 1936, at which time an address by the Secretary of State was read by the Honorable Sumner Welles, owing to the inability of the Secretary to attend on account of illness. A copy of this speech is printed as appendix 11 (p. 92). The closing addresses were delivered by Dr. Carlos Concha, Chairman of the Peruvian Delegation, and Dr. Saavedra Lamas, Chairman of the Argentine Delegation. In accordance with the established custom, the head of the delegation of the country selected as the host for the next conference addressed the closing session on behalf of the delegates.*

The meetings of the committees, as well as the plenary sessions of the Conference, were open to the public; the official languages were Spanish, English, Portuguese, and French.

Three important instruments—the Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation and Reestablishment of Peace; the Additional Protocol Relative to Non-Intervention; and the Convention to Coordinate, Extend and Assure the Fulfillment of the Existing Treaties Between the American States—provide for the deposit of the instruments of ratification with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic. This provision is at variance with the general practice which has recently been developed in inter-American conferences, namely, that the instruments of ratification of inter-American treaties and conventions are deposited in the archives of the Pan American Union, which is charged with the duty of communicating notice of such deposit to the other signatory states.†

WORK OF THE CONFERENCE

Any appraisal or evaluation of the work of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace must take into consideration not only the tangible but also the intangible factors involved. The Conference did not establish a millennium, and, in fact, no serious person ever expected such accomplishment. It did not come up to the expectations of either the enthusiastic theorists or the avowed

* The Seventh International Conference of American States, which met in Montevideo in 1933, selected Lima as the seat of the next periodic conference, namely, the Eighth International Conference of American States.

† Resolution LVIII: Measures for the Ratification of Conventions. *Report of the Delegates of the United States of America to the Seventh International Conference of American States, Montevideo, Uruguay, December 3-26, 1933* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934), appendix 81, p. 257.

pessimists who predicted the failure of the Conference. Neither did it satisfy the strong opponents of the League of Nations who would have liked to see the Geneva organization discredited, nor the loyal advocates who would have liked the Conference to have thrown its full weight and influence toward the League. The very fact that the Conference did not try to satisfy any of these demands is the surest evidence of its fundamental success.

One of the chief characteristics of the Conference was the realism with which the delegates approached the problems with which they were confronted. The delegates conceived the task of the Conference to be that of formulating, by common agreement, plans for mutual cooperation and peaceful collaboration. The principle of equality was fully recognized. There was no distinction between large and small countries, but all delegations were on a basis of complete equality. The national sovereignty and independence of each nation were scrupulously respected. Moreover, it was recognized that each nation has the right to make decisions in accordance with its own national requirements. The United States Delegation acted accordingly. Its projects, like all other important projects, were modified to meet the views of the other twenty nations represented. It was the spirit of compromise which, in harmony with the principle of equality and the policy of the "good neighbor", made the Conference such an outstanding success.

There was a greater desire for unanimity than at any other conference in recent years. Three of the most important projects were presented by all the countries, and most of the conventions and resolutions were adopted unanimously. It was an outstanding achievement in international affairs to witness twenty-one nations, representing more than 250,000,000 people of different economic conditions, national ambitions, and varying requirements, agreeing to advance jointly along general lines of progress in the fields of peace, neutrality, economics, and international cooperation. This unanimity of action and willingness to place the common welfare above individual interests constituted a most hopeful sign to those peoples of the world who are striving for a reign of peace among nations. The Conference demonstrates what can be done in a constructive way when the representatives of nations sit around a table to discuss measures for the common good in an atmosphere of confidence and understanding.

Secretary Hull, in his closing address before the Conference, said (appendix 11, p. 93):

To a fuller extent than ever before in a meeting of the American republics, the work of conference and collaboration has been carried on in a spirit of friendly understanding and mutual confidence. Seldom has there been a meeting in which debate has been more marked by mutual consideration, or discussion more concerned with agreement rather than divergence, or in which the delegates have subordinated their individual aims and desires for the sake of the common objective they have had before them. If I am correctly informed, for the first

time in the history of inter-American conferences projects of fundamental import have been presented by the unanimous action of all of the delegations. If this procedure has been adopted, it has been because all of us have felt that only by unanimity could we succeed in assuring ourselves of the complete fulfilment of that which we have sought to attain.

This unanimity was made possible by the united purpose and conviction that the American peoples have a common interest which binds them one to another. The community of interest among the American nations was never so manifest as at this Conference. All delegations were sensitive to the common bond, the common purposes, and the common concern in the safety and independence of each and all. They were firmly convinced that the national security of each individual American republic had become the common interest of all. The collectivity of the American republics was dedicated at this Conference to the cause of peace and the well-being of each nation.

The unity and enthusiasm displayed throughout the Conference demonstrated the popular determination of the American peoples to preserve peace. This determination springs from the conviction so well expressed by Secretary Hull in his speech before the Conference on December 23, 1936, that "War is not an act of God but a crime of man."

The serious conditions existing in other parts of the world and the danger of international conflict were recognized by all the delegates. All were impressed by the disastrous effects which an international conflict would have upon the economic, political, and social life of each. They desired to be helpful, so far as possible, in avoiding or preventing international conflicts abroad, but they were likewise determined that, if war could not be prevented, they should endeavor to provide some means whereby the American republics might take effective action in remaining outside of the conflict.

Never has the purpose of the American peoples to keep out of war been more manifest or articulate than at this Conference. The policies involved were not solely based on the presumption of war and the fear of it, but they were planned with a view to making a positive contribution to world peace, as well as to enabling them to remain outside of any conflict. The treaties and conventions signed will, of course, operate only in case a serious emergency should arise. It was deemed necessary and desirable, however, to have them available even though the occasion when it would be necessary to invoke them might seem remote.

No attempt was made to take action antagonistic to other nations, groups of nations, or organizations. The Conference took into consideration the fact that the Western Hemisphere is only one part of the world. It will be recalled in this connection that President Roosevelt's letter of January 30, 1936, suggesting the convocation of this Conference, stated that "the agreements which might be reached would supplement and reinforce the efforts of the League of Nations

and of all other existing or future peace agencies in seeking to prevent war". The attitude which the United States Delegation took was that the American republics, in view of their common interests, could adopt measures safeguarding the peace of the Western Hemisphere and thereby contribute to the cause of peace not only throughout the Americas but also throughout the entire world.

Although some of the instruments adopted may not be everything that is desired, it is believed that they represent the largest common denominator which it was possible to obtain under the circumstances. The primary consideration was to reach agreements which would recognize the demands and requirements of twenty-one independent nations and which, at the same time, would avoid sacrificing the principles of self-preservation and of national independence. The treaties and conventions signed are based upon the views of all the delegations; they are not opposed to the interests of individual nations or groups of nations; and they scrupulously respect the national sovereignty and independence of action of each of the signatory governments. As a result, there was no categorical negative vote against any of the treaties, conventions, and resolutions, and there were very few reservations or abstentions from voting.

INSTRUMENTS ADOPTED AT THE CONFERENCE

The Conference adopted two treaties and eight conventions, an additional protocol relative to non-intervention, and sixty-two resolutions, recommendations, and declarations. The following instruments were signed:

Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation and Reestablishment of Peace (pp. 17 and 116);

Additional Protocol Relative to Non-Intervention (pp. 19 and 124);

Convention to Coordinate, Extend and Assure the Fulfillment of the Existing Treaties Between the American States (pp. 23 and 131);

Treaty on the Prevention of Controversies (pp. 20 and 143);

Inter-American Treaty on Good Offices and Mediation (pp. 20 and 151);

Convention on the Pan American Highway (pp. 32 and 159);

Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations (pp. 34 and 167);

Convention on Interchange of Publications (pp. 35 and 176);

Convention Concerning Artistic Exhibitions (pp. 35 and 183);

Convention Concerning Peaceful Orientation of Public Instruction (pp. 35 and 191);*

Convention Concerning Facilities for Educational and Publicity Films (pp. 35 and 198).*

* Not signed by the Delegation of the United States of America; see p. 35.

The detailed account of the work of the Conference can most conveniently be described under the work of the respective committees.

COMMITTEE I: ORGANIZATION OF PEACE

1. Methods for the prevention and pacific settlement of inter-American disputes.

- (a) Consideration of possible causes of controversy and of measures for their peaceful solution, excepting questions already settled by treaties.
- (b) Coordination and perfecting of existing international instruments for the maintenance of peace, and desirability of incorporating them in one instrument.
- (c) Consideration of additional measures for the maintenance of peace and the pacific settlement of inter-American controversies.
- (d) Measures intended to secure the prompt ratification of treaties and conventions for the maintenance of peace.
- (e) Generalization of the inter-American juridical system for the maintenance of peace.
- (f) Creation of an Inter-American Court of Justice.

2. Consideration of other measures tending toward closer association of the American Republics and of measures of cooperation with other international entities.

In view of the fact that this extraordinary Conference was convened to give special consideration to questions relative to the maintenance of peace, the work of Committee I, dealing with the topics concerning organization of peace, attracted more sustained interest than that of any of the other committees. This Committee approved one convention, two treaties, an additional protocol, and ten resolutions.

In the field of the organization of peace, the Conference was faced with various alternatives. The Conference could take cognizance of the existing peace machinery and supplement it by the establishment of additional machinery; it could provide for the abolition of all existing machinery and the creation of an entirely new machinery; it could favor close cooperation with the League of Nations and disregard the regional aspect of international organization; or it could favor the establishment of an entirely independent regional organization for the Western Hemisphere without regard for other institutions.

The Conference adopted the first alternative, namely, to supplement the existing peace machinery. The main features of an effective peace machinery, such as provisions for conciliation, mediation, and arbitration, already existed, but there were certain weaknesses which required remedy.

The first action was the approval by the Conference of resolution III (appendix 29, p. 210), in accordance with a proposal made by Secretary Hull reaffirming the resolution of the Montevideo Conference calling upon those governments which had not yet done so to adhere to or ratify the five existing inter-American peace treaties. Although a number of governments had ratified these instruments

following the Montevideo Conference, none had been ratified by all the American republics. A list of the countries which were parties to the five peace treaties as of December 1, 1936, appears as appendix 26 (p. 208).

CONVENTION FOR THE MAINTENANCE, PRESERVATION AND REESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE

One of the most important instruments approved by Committee I was the Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation and Reestablishment of Peace, which was signed by delegates of each of the twenty-one American governments. The text of this convention appears as appendix 15 of this report (p. 116). This convention was introduced as a joint project signed by the chairmen of the delegations of all twenty-one governments. This is a particularly important instrument, since it touches on the national security of each American republic and makes that problem a matter of common interest to each and every one.

Cognizant of the fervent desire of the American peoples to maintain peace on the Western Hemisphere, the delegates established in contractual form the obligation to consult together for the purpose of finding and adopting methods of peaceful cooperation. This convention provides for consultation and collaboration of the twenty-one American nations in the event of:

- A. Menace to the peace of the American republics from any source;
- B. Menace to peace on the continent in the event of war, or a virtual state of war, between American states; and
- C. Menace from an international war outside of America which might threaten the peace of the American republics.

This convention furnishes an important link and gives continuity to the principal treaties which provide the machinery for the maintenance of peace throughout the Americas. It provides for cooperative and friendly consultation among the nations of this hemisphere whenever peace is threatened. The nations, through consultation, will seek to determine the proper time and manner in which the signatory states may eventually cooperate in some action tending to preserve the peace of the American continent in any situation that may arise. In the opinion of many this instrument represents the strongest assurance of peace which this continent has ever had.

A flexible system of consultation, supported by the good-will and confidence now existing among the American republics, makes it possible for the governments to reach agreements concerning common action in meeting situations which involve any threat to peace. The American republics recognize their collective concern and their com-

mon interest in the safety of each and all of the American republics if peace should be threatened or endangered. Although there is no definite commitment as to the action to be taken, the obligation to consult is an important step in perfecting the existing procedure. In addition, this obligation implies the existence of a collective responsibility to find and adopt a method of peaceful collaboration.

This convention further provides that any American government has the right to bring about consultation between all the American governments whenever there is any threat to the peace of the Americas, however remote that threat may be. It is clear that whenever a request is made for consultation and whenever that consultation is undertaken the force of public opinion of the twenty-one republics will be given an opportunity to rally in support of a peaceful solution of the difficulty. The convention therefore provides a means for the mobilization of public opinion on behalf of pacific settlement of disputes.

Secretary Hull in commenting on this at the closing session of the Conference said (appendix 11, p. 94):

In a broad way the program contemplates the mobilization of the public opinion of all the peoples of this hemisphere in the effort to bring their combined moral influence to bear upon the solution of controversies, upon the defense of their common interest in the peace of the continent, and upon the maintenance of the fundamental principles of international law upon which the stability of the international order is dependent. We believe this public opinion to be more than a passive element in the life of our peoples; we believe it to be a powerful force which must be brought to bear upon our common problems and which can give vitality and effectiveness to the efforts we are making for their solution.

It is generally agreed that loyal and universal adherence by all the twenty-one governments to the five peace treaties which were in existence prior to December 1936 and to the instruments adopted at the Buenos Aires Conference, should assure the maintenance of peace in the American republics.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF INTER-AMERICAN SOLIDARITY AND CO-OPERATION

Should any doubt be entertained regarding the emphasis and importance which the delegations at Buenos Aires attached to the need of some agreement such as the above convention, especially as regards those features of it defining a common purpose if any non-American power offers a threat to the peace of this continent, such proof is furnished in the Declaration of Principles of Inter-American Solidarity and Co-operation (XXVII, appendix 53, p. 227), which was introduced by the Central American delegations. This declaration represents a real desire of the delegates to serve notice that an attack from abroad would find the nations of this hemisphere united. It

concentrates the principle of American solidarity in all non-continental conflicts.

The American governments solemnly declare "their unqualified respect for their respective sovereignties and the existence of a common democracy throughout America", and also that "every act susceptible of disturbing the peace of America affects each and every one of them". They declare that such action justifies consultation as provided for in the Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation and Reestablishment of Peace.

They accept the principle that no acquisition of territory by means of force shall be recognized among them, and they restate the principle of non-intervention in the external or internal affairs of another state.

This declaration of principles defines more definitely than any other instrument "American solidarity in all non-continental conflicts" and prescribes the collective concern of all the American nations in the event of an act "susceptible of disturbing the peace of America".

ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL RELATIVE TO NON-INTERVENTION

Closely associated with the Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation and Reestablishment of Peace is the Additional Protocol Relative to Non-Intervention (appendix 16, p. 124). The two instruments were negotiated and presented to the Conference simultaneously as joint proposals. The additional protocol reaffirms the principle approved at the Montevideo Conference in 1933 and embodied in the Convention on Rights and Duties of States which was adopted at that Conference. Article 8 of the Convention on Rights and Duties of States provides that:

No state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another.

The United States of America had already ratified that convention.

The Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation and Reestablishment of Peace and the Additional Protocol Relative to Non-Intervention, which were adopted at the Buenos Aires Conference, have in common the idea of consultation, the new principle incorporated into the inter-American peace machinery. The additional protocol declares "inadmissible" the intervention of any one of the contracting parties in the internal or external affairs of any other and provides that the violation of this provision shall give rise to mutual consultation with the object of exchanging views and seeking methods of a peaceful adjustment. The protocol makes it clear that intervention may constitute a threat to the peace of the continent, and a method is accordingly provided for taking up in an orderly manner difficulties which previously might have led to intervention. The additional protocol, therefore, establishes collective responsibility for all the

contracting parties to find a peaceful solution for the situation created by the "intervention of any one of them, directly or indirectly, and for whatever reason, in the internal or external affairs of any other of the Parties".

TREATY ON THE PREVENTION OF CONTROVERSIES

Two treaties, namely, the Treaty on the Prevention of Controversies and the Inter-American Treaty on Good Offices and Mediation, also were signed at the Conference. These are intended to further supplement the reinforcement of existing inter-American peace machinery. The Treaty on the Prevention of Controversies (appendix 18, p. 143) provides for the establishment of permanent bilateral mixed commissions with the primary objective of eliminating, so far as possible, the causes of future difficulties and controversies. These commissions are also to propose measures for the regular application of treaties as well as for the promotion and development of good relations between the countries. This idea of bilateral mixed commissions is similar to the arrangement between the United States of America and Canada which has worked so well for a number of years.

The treaty provides that the preventive commissions shall be bilateral, shall be composed of representatives of the signatory governments, and shall be set up upon the request of any signatory party.

The purpose of the commissions is preventative, and in this respect they differ from the conciliation commissions for which provision is made in previous inter-American treaties. The functions of these bilateral commissions are to study continuously relations between the two countries represented and to report and present recommendations regarding problems which might affect the relations between them. Such commissions are to study not only "causes of future difficulties or controversies" but are to propose measures to assure the due and regular application of treaties in force between the parties. This convention, if ratified and applied, might well become one of the most effective contributions to American peace machinery.

INTER-AMERICAN TREATY ON GOOD OFFICES AND MEDIATION

The Inter-American Treaty on Good Offices and Mediation (appendix 19, p. 151) provides for the creation of a permanent panel of eminent citizens to whom the parties to a controversy may have recourse for the exercise of good offices and mediation. The panel is to be prepared by the Pan American Union and is to consist of the names of two citizens from each country to be designated by the respective governments at the time of ratification. In the event that mediation is desired, the provisions of the treaty furnish a means of securing rapidly a board of mediation or conciliation after a controversy arises.

Article III of the treaty provides that in the event of a controversy the parties, by common agreement, may select one member of the

panel to serve as mediator. Provision is also made for procedure in case the parties are unable to agree upon one person.

Article IV provides that the mediator shall set a time not more than six months nor less than three months in which settlement shall be reached. In case a settlement is not reached within that time the parties then agree to submit the controversy to the procedure of conciliation provided in the already-existing inter-American agreements. This treaty provides a more elastic procedure for mediation and good offices than that of commissions of inquiry and conciliation, for which provision is made in other inter-American instruments.

INTER-AMERICAN COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

Several governments had requested the consideration of the subject relating to the establishment of an inter-American court of international justice. Projects were submitted and considerable discussion was held concerning this subject, but no definite agreement was reached with regard to the matter. The Conference adopted resolution IV (appendix 30, p. 210), referring the matter to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union for its consideration. The Governing Board was requested to submit its report and conclusions for the consideration of the Eighth International Conference of American States.

CREATION OF A LEAGUE OF AMERICAN NATIONS

Several projects relating to the creation of an American League of Nations were presented to the Conference. None of the projects, however, were approved by the Conference, and the Conference adopted a resolution to the effect that such a complicated and important subject requires thorough study upon the part of each and all of the American governments and that therefore the topic was not sufficiently ripe for its immediate consideration. The Conference therefore adopted a resolution providing that the topic relative to the creation of a league or association of American nations be included in the program of the Eighth International Conference of American States. It was recommended that the states which had presented projects on this topic come to an agreement among themselves and consult with the other states in order to present a report to the Pan American Union (appendix 36, p. 214).

PROJECTS REFERRED TO COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS ON CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

The Seventh International Conference of American States, which met in Montevideo in 1933, provided for the establishment of a committee of experts on the codification of international law. This committee of seven experts has already been established by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union. The Conference referred to this committee the Mexican project on the code of peace (resolution

XXVIII, appendix 54, p. 228); the Bolivian project on the definition of an aggressor and the application of sanctions (resolution XXX, appendix 56, p. 229); the Brazilian project relative to the strengthening of the means for the prevention of war (resolution XXX, appendix 56, p. 229); and the project on the coordination of conciliation and arbitration treaties (resolution XXXI, appendix 57, p. 230).

SOCIETY OF AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP

Resolution XXXII (appendix 58, p. 230) recommended the establishment of an association of a social and cultural character under the patronage of Dr. Harmodio Arias M., ex-President of Panama, to be called the Society of American Friendship, for the purpose of providing closer personal contact among representative men of the American republics and thereby strengthening the policy of the "good neighbor".

COORDINATION OF PACIFIC INSTRUMENTS WITH THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The United States Delegation abstained from voting on resolution XXIX relative to the Coordination of Pacific Instruments with the Covenant of the League of Nations (appendix 55, p. 229). This resolution recommends to the American states members of the League of Nations and signatories to the Pact of Paris, the Saavedra Lamas treaty, and any other similar agreements to be signed in the future, that they request the states which are not members of the League but which are parties to the above-mentioned treaties to cooperate with the League of Nations in the study of the projects for the coordination of the various instruments with the Covenant of the League of Nations. It also recommends that the American states which are not members of the League cooperate with the Geneva organization in any measures which the League may adopt to prevent war or to settle international conflicts by pacific means. It likewise recommends that the resolution be brought to the attention of the special committee in Geneva established to study the coordination of the Covenant of the League of Nations with other peace instruments.

The United States Delegation, in abstaining from voting on this resolution, endeavored to avoid giving the impression that it wished to interfere with any project which some other American nations wished to adopt concerning their relations with the League of Nations. With this in view, Secretary Hull released to the press the following statement explaining the position of the United States:

The policy of the United States has been and is to aid in promoting and preserving peace by the fullest international cooperation practicable and consistent with its policy of non-involvement or non-entanglement in political affairs abroad. In doing so, however, it reserves entire freedom of action. In these circumstances the United States Delegation withheld its vote on the pending motion.

Resolution V (appendix 31, p. 211) recommends that the treaties and conventions adopted at inter-American conferences shall be open to the accession or adherence of American states which may not have signed them and that whenever it is so provided in such instruments they shall be open to the accession or adherence of all states.

COMMITTEE II: NEUTRALITY

3. Consideration of rules regarding the rights and duties of neutrals and belligerents.

CONVENTION TO COORDINATE, EXTEND AND ASSURE THE FULFILLMENT OF THE EXISTING TREATIES BETWEEN THE AMERICAN STATES

Questions relating to neutrality received serious attention and were given extended consideration by Committee II. The Conference adopted a single instrument on this subject entitled "Convention to Coordinate, Extend and Assure the Fulfillment of the Existing Treaties Between the American States" (appendix 17, p. 131).

This convention was submitted to the Conference as a joint project signed by the chairman of each of the twenty-one delegations, and it represents one of the strongest assurances of peace which the Western Hemisphere has ever had. It provides machinery for the coordination of the existing peace instruments and envisages the general objective of a common neutrality policy. The convention refers specifically to the five peace instruments which provide a general framework for the pacific settlement of disputes between the American republics and to which most of the American republics are already parties. These five instruments are the Treaty to Avoid and Prevent Conflicts (Gondra treaty, 1933), the Pact of Paris (1928), the General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation (1929), the General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration (1929), and the Treaty of Non-Aggression and Conciliation (1933).

The general scope and purposes of this convention may be summarized as follows:

(1) The primary purpose is to coordinate and make more effective by means of consultations the five peace agencies calculated to insure peace on this continent.

(2) It proposes a common neutrality policy as a general objective but leaves to the various nations the liberty to act under it in accordance with their treaty commitments and domestic legislation, including obligations to other peace agencies.

(3) It provides a method for determining the time at which hostilities become a state of war, so as to bring into effect neutrality legislation.

The governments reaffirm their obligation to settle by pacific means controversies of an international character which may arise between

them. Whenever an emergency arises which affects their common interest in the maintenance of peace, the contracting parties agree, through consultation and cooperation, to assist each other in fulfilling their existing obligations for pacific settlement, recognizing at the same time their general right to individual liberty of action. It is further provided that, should a controversy arise between two or more of the parties, the disputants will not have recourse to hostilities or take any military action whatever while consultation is in progress and during a period of not more than six months. The American governments which may be involved in a controversy and which have been unable to solve it by diplomatic negotiations, agree not only to have recourse to one or more of the peace instruments cited above but also to report to the other American governments the methods of pacific settlement which they select, as well as the progress made in the adjustment of the controversy.

In the event that any of the American republics should fail in the effort to settle disputes arising between them by pacific means the governments also agree, through consultation, immediately to "endeavor to ad[o]pt in their character as neutrals a common and solidary attitude, in order to discourage or prevent the spread or prolongation of hostilities". They also obligate themselves to consult immediately with one another to "consider the imposition of prohibitions or restrictions on the sale or shipment of arms, munitions and implements of war, loans or other financial help to the states in conflict, in accordance with the municipal legislation of the High Contracting Parties, and without detriment to their obligations derived from other treaties to which they are or may become parties".

Although the convention envisages a common neutrality policy, it is important to note that every contracting government remains in a position to act in accordance with its domestic legislation and consistent with its multilateral treaties. It also should be noted that while the convention obligates the governments to consult, it contains no provision with respect to the determination of an aggressor in any conflict, and it does not cover the question of equality of treatment in applying embargoes and other restrictions.

Some of the delegations favored the inclusion of a provision making a distinction between the treatment to be accorded an aggressor and the nation which might be attacked. The feeling prevailed in certain quarters that the victim of aggression should not be penalized to the same extent, if at all, as a state which violates its obligations. The Conference referred to the Committee of Experts on Codification of International Law the Bolivian project on the definition of an aggressor and the application of sanctions (resolution XXX, appendix 56, p. 229).

The convention also provides that each of the contracting parties shall reach a prompt decision in regard to the question of whether hostilities actually in progress constitute a state of war and shall

adopt such an attitude as would be consistent with other multilateral treaties to which it is a party or in accordance with its municipal legislation. "Such action shall not be deemed an unfriendly act on the part of any state affected thereby." The latter provision prevents any conflict between the terms of the convention and the terms of the Additional Protocol Relative to Non-Intervention.

The convention was signed by all the twenty-one governments but with reservations by the Delegations of Argentina, Paraguay, El Salvador, and Colombia. The Argentine and Paraguayan reservations, which are identical, state that foodstuffs or raw materials destined for the civil populations of belligerent countries shall not be considered, under article 6, as contraband of war, nor shall there exist any duty to prohibit credits for the acquisition of the said foodstuffs or raw materials which have the destination indicated; and further state that with reference to the embargo on arms each nation may reserve freedom of action in the face of a war of aggression. El Salvador made a reservation with respect to the idea of continental solidarity when confronted by foreign aggression. The Delegation of Colombia noted its understanding that the phrasing of articles 5 and 6 implies a new concept of international law which allows a distinction to be drawn between the aggressor and the attacked and allows them to be treated differently, and included in its reservation a definition of the aggressor.

COMMITTEE III: LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

4. Necessity of limiting the organization and armaments of national defense, so as only to guarantee internal security of the States and their defense against foreign aggression.

Six meetings were held in the course of which the Committee agreed on two resolutions which were later accepted by the Conference.

RESOLUTIONS

Resolution XXXIII on Limitation of Armaments (appendix 59, p. 231) was based on a project of the Chilean Delegation. This resolution recommends that the governments which are in a position to do so, conclude general or bilateral agreements to limit their armaments to the greatest possible extent within the requirements of internal order and the justified defense of their sovereignty. Paraguay gave its approval to this resolution with the reservation that it does not accept limitation beyond that stated in its bilateral agreements, mentioning the protocol in force between Bolivia and itself expressly limiting armaments.

Resolution XXXIV on Humanization of War (appendix 60, p. 232) was originally presented by the Delegation of Uruguay and was

modified to meet the views of the Delegations of Brazil and Peru. In this resolution the Conference declares the formal repudiation of war as a means of settling differences between states; proscribes the use of chemical elements in war which may cause unnecessary damage; excludes civil populations, so far as possible, from the effects of international conflagrations; and recommends to the American governments that in the pacts of limitation of armaments which they may sign they include stipulations of a humanitarian character.

COMMITTEE IV: JURIDICAL PROBLEMS

5. Consideration of methods for the future codification of International Law.

6. Formulation of principles with respect to the elimination of force and of diplomatic intervention in cases of pecuniary claims and other private actions.

7. Unification of the international American principle and of national legislation with respect to the problems of nationality.

RESOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The deliberations of the Committee on Juridical Problems were not extensive because the primary interest of the Conference was in questions closely related to peace. Also, the Committee of Experts on Codification of International Law was to meet in the near future; and, in addition, it was considered advisable to refer some juridical problems to the Eighth International Conference of American States. Resolution XI (appendix 37, p. 215) was adopted giving a vote of applause to the Permanent Committee on Codification of Public International Law of Rio de Janeiro and to its president, Dr. Epitacio Pessoa, and extended homage to a number of American jurists and publicists. Resolution VIII (appendix 34, p. 213) recommended the establishment of an American academy of international law.

Resolution VII (appendix 33, p. 212) recommended that the American governments promote the publication of texts or digests setting forth the doctrines maintained by each on questions of international law and also recommended that the Pan American Union publish a summary of these works.

Projects Referred to Committee of Experts on Codification of International Law

Projects concerning a number of subjects were referred to the Committee of Experts on Codification of International Law, which was organized in accordance with a resolution of the Montevideo Conference.* Resolution XXXV (appendix 61, p. 232) submitted to the Committee of Experts the question of pecuniary claims and suggested

**Report of the Delegates of the United States of America to the Seventh International Conference of American States, Montevideo, Uruguay, December 3-26, 1933* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934), pp. 16 and 263 *et seq.*

that a project of convention on the subject be formulated which should be submitted to the Eighth International Conference of American States. The resolution stated that in spite of repeated efforts the Committee on Juridical Problems was unable to secure a unanimity of opinion, and hence it was considered preferable to recommend that the study of coordination be done by the Committee of Experts.

Another project referred to the Committee of Experts was one on the immunity of government vessels (resolution XXXVI, appendix 62, p. 234). This resolution also recommended that the American republics adhere to the Convention of Brussels of April 10, 1926, relating to this subject.

The question of unification of the international American principle and of national legislation with respect to the problems of nationality, was considered by the Committee on Juridical Problems to be of such a technical nature as to require further study. The Conference therefore recommended that the question of nationality be referred to the Committee of Experts for study and consideration and afterward be considered by the Eighth International Conference of American States (resolution XXXVII, appendix 63, p. 235).

Codification of International Law

Resolution VI on the Codification of International Law (appendix 32, p. 211) was adopted and provides for a procedure somewhat at variance with that prescribed by the Seventh International Conference of American States in 1933. This resolution confuses the functions and jurisdiction of the Committee of Experts as provided by the Montevideo resolution and, if strictly interpreted, would make the Committee of Experts merely a revisory board with practically no powers of initiative.

The resolution of the Montevideo Conference had provided for the establishment of a Committee of Experts to act as a centralized and systematic agency for the codification of international law. According to that resolution the preliminary work was to be done by a group of seven experts chosen by all the American governments. This Committee of Experts was entrusted with the duty of formulating *questionnaires* on subjects susceptible of codification, and these *questionnaires* were to be submitted to the national committees in each country composed of officials and ex-officials of foreign offices, professors, and other authorities on international law. The Committee of Experts was to coordinate the replies and formulate drafts on the basis of the observations made by the various national committees. In this way the Committee of Experts would initiate action and would centralize and coordinate the work of codification.

The Buenos Aires resolution provides for the reestablishment of the three permanent committees created by the Sixth International

Conference of American States at Habana in 1928, namely, one in Rio de Janeiro for the work relating to public international law; another at Montevideo for the work dealing with private international law; and another in Habana for the study of comparative legislation and the uniformity of legislations.* The functions of these committees are to make reports, solicit and obtain opinions, and formulate draft projects. This resolution provided that the national committees on codification should undertake studies of the doctrines on the various subjects to be codified and transmit the results of those studies to the permanent committees, which should then prepare draft conventions and resolutions to be transmitted to the Committee of Experts for revision and coordination. The revised drafts and studies would be transmitted to the various governments and, finally, to the International Commission of American Jurists.

The Buenos Aires resolution provides that the initiative in the work of codification shall rest with the twenty-one national committees, while the Montevideo resolution provides that the initiative shall be taken by the Committee of Experts. The inconsistency of these two resolutions and the resulting confusion will probably result in the postponement of effective work on codification. The situation can scarcely be clarified before the next inter-American conference, which is to be held in Lima, Peru.†

* See *Report of the Delegates of the United States of America to the Sixth International Conference of American States, Habana, Cuba, January 16–February 20, 1928* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928), p. 315

† The Committee of Experts was organized in accordance with the Montevideo resolution and met at the Pan American Union April 5–19, 1937. The members of that Committee are: Victor M. Maúrtua (Peru), Alberto Cruchaga Ossa (Chile), Carlos Saavedra Lamas (Argentina), Luis Anderson Morus (Costa Rica), Eduardo Suárez (Mexico), Afranio de Mello Franco (Brazil), and J. Reuben Clark (United States of America). Edward M. Borchard attended in place of Mr. Clark, owing to the latter's inability to be present.

In its last session the Committee signed a final act incorporating its conclusions. The Committee recommends that the national committees undertake the study of a treaty consolidating and integrating the methods for the codification of international law established in the various resolutions on the subject adopted by the international conferences of American states. In the interval, while the treaty is being elaborated and ratified by all the American republics, the procedure of codification established by the Montevideo Conference and by the Peace Conference of Buenos Aires is to govern.

The Committee also recommended that the governments inform the Pan American Union with regard to the work accomplished by the national committees in order that the Union may keep the governments in touch with developments in the codification movement in all parts of the continent.

The Juridical Division of the Pan American Union served as the Secretariat of the Committee, and it is at present occupied in preparing the report and in performing the other functions in connection with the codification of international law entrusted to it by the Conferences of Montevideo and Buenos Aires.

COMMITTEE V: ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

The Committee on Economic Problems considered the following topics which comprised section V of the program:

8. Measures to promote closer economic relations among the American Republics.

- (a) Tariff truces and customs agreements.
- (b) Agreement on sanitary regulations affecting the interchange of animal and vegetable products.
- (c) Equality of opportunity in international trade.
- (d) Financial cooperation.
- (e) International aspects of the problems of immigration.
- (f) Promotion of travel.
- (g) Other measures.

9. Improvement of communication facilities.

- (a) Maritime communications.
- (b) The Pan American Highway.
- (c) Other measures.

The Honorable Sumner Welles of the United States Delegation was chosen chairman of the Committee, and six subcommittees were designated to deal with the topics indicated above. The Committee submitted one convention, seven resolutions, and five recommendations, all of which were approved by the Conference.

MEASURES TO PROMOTE CLOSER ECONOMIC RELATIONS AMONG THE
AMERICAN REPUBLICS

Under the general topic "Measures to Promote Closer Economic Relations Among the American Republics", the Conference approved a number of resolutions and recommendations, among them two resolutions which originated with the United States Delegation and which pledged support to the principles of a liberal trade policy. These relate to Equality of Treatment in International Trade and Restrictions on International Trade.

Equality of Treatment in International Trade

Resolution XLIV (appendix 70, p. 240) on Equality of Treatment in International Trade states that the American republics are convinced that the growth of international trade can serve to strengthen the foundations of peace by improving the material welfare and contentment of nations and by drawing them together in mutual understanding and interest. It recognizes the fact that important benefits of trade can only be achieved if governments regulate their trade in such a manner as to conform to the spirit of equality and neighborliness and that discriminatory practices which impair the advantages naturally enjoyed by various countries in international trade tend to give rise to dissatisfaction and ill-will, thereby frustrating the peaceful ends which trade should serve.

The resolution reaffirms the policy enunciated at the Montevideo Conference that "the principle of equality of treatment stands and must continue to stand as the basis of all acceptable commercial policy". It also recommends that each government declare its determination to bend every effort to enforce in all the phases of its general commercial policy the peaceful and equitable principle of equality of treatment and, in accordance with this principle, suppress as soon as possible all discriminatory practices, including those arising in connection with import-license systems, exchange control, and bilateral clearing and compensation agreements. (The Government of El Salvador approved this recommendation with a reservation.)

Restrictions on International Trade

The second recommendation on economic matters, presented by the Delegation of the United States, was that entitled "Restrictions on International Trade" (XLVI, appendix 72, p. 242). It recommends that the American states abstain, so far as possible, from raising or augmenting tariff barriers and every other kind of restriction which hinders international trade and resulting payments; it recommends a policy of abolishing or gradually reducing such excessive and unreasonable prohibitions and restrictions upon international commerce; and it recommends that this policy be made effective as early as possible, in order that the Eighth International Conference of American States and the Economic Financial Conference which is to be held in Santiago, Chile, might mark a definite step toward a system of greater freedom in international commerce. It also resolved to invite all governments not participating in the present Conference to follow the policy proposed in this recommendation.

In the preamble this recommendation states that the development of international trade unquestionably contributes to the progress and well-being of nations; that closer commercial relationships contribute to drawing peoples together and create bonds of greater solidarity between countries which maintain them; and that trade is being impeded by a great number of excessive or unreasonable restrictions and prohibitions. It also states that, as a preliminary step toward eliminating and gradually reducing such prohibitions and restrictions, it is essential to prevent any increase in the obstacles which hinder international trade and render it more difficult.

Miscellaneous Subjects

A resolution of particular interest to the Delegation of the United States was that entitled "Sanitary Police Regulation of Vegetable and Animal Products" (XL, appendix 66, p. 237). This resolution asserts that the agricultural and cattle-raising industries constitute the principal source of wealth of almost all the American countries,

and that it is therefore to the common interest of all that measures of an international character for the sanitary inspection of animal and vegetable products be adopted to prevent the propagation of epidemics and parasites and to secure their elimination. The Conference requested the Pan American Union to prepare at an early date a draft convention for the creation of a Pan American institute of vegetable and animal sanitation, which might be consulted by the several governments of the American countries prior to the inter-American conference on agriculture to meet in Mexico City in 1937.

Another resolution issuing from Committee V was that entitled "Monetary Conference" (XXXVIII, appendix 64, p. 236), which recommended that the Pan American Union determine, as soon as possible after consultation with the various American governments, whether it would be opportune to hold a meeting of delegates of the ministries of finance and of the central banks of the American countries to study and endeavor to bring about monetary stabilization and the lifting or termination of the systems of exchange control which the various states members of the Pan American Union had applied as a result of the depression.

Committee V also considered the topic of "Immigration". Resolution XLV (appendix 71, p. 241) asserted that immigration is an important factor affecting international peace. Mentioning the fact that on the American continent there are large unpopulated areas which might help peaceably, through bilateral agreements, to meet the reciprocal necessities of countries of emigration and countries of immigration, the Conference recommended that the governments make studies of their respective ability to receive immigrants. Such studies are to be communicated to the Pan American Union; and these studies, together with those made by the International Labor Office, are to be used in the preparation of draft conventions and recommendations for use as the bases for bilateral labor treaties. The preparation of appropriate standardized treaties is to be put in charge of a committee of experts, the conclusions of which might be considered by the Lima Conference.

The Conference, by resolution XXXIX on the Ratification of the Conventions of the Pan American Commercial Conference of Buenos Aires (appendix 65, p. 236), recommended the early ratification of the conventions signed at the Pan American Commercial Conference held in Buenos Aires in 1935.

In resolution XLII, entitled "Organization of an Inter-American Institute of Economics and Finance" (appendix 68, p. 239), the Conference resolved that the Pan American Union should include in the agenda of the next Pan American Conference to be held at Lima the project approved at the Seventh Conference in Montevideo for the creation of an inter-American institute of economics and finance.

Finally, in recommendation XLIX, entitled "Standard of Living" (appendix 75, p. 246), the Conference recommended that the governments carry out as soon as possible a survey of the standards of living and economic indices of the various regions within their territories. It was stated in this recommendation that the Pan American Union should determine the outlines which the survey should follow and coordinate the results. It was also stated that these studies should be carried on without affecting those undertaken by the International Labor Office and should be additional thereto.

IMPROVEMENT OF COMMUNICATION FACILITIES

Convention on the Pan American Highway

A Convention on the Pan American Highway (appendix 20, p. 159) was the only convention signed at the Conference which originated in Committee V. The convention states that one of the most adequate and efficient means for the attainment of the moral and material ends of the Conference would be the completion of a highway to establish permanent communication between the American republics. It provides that the high contracting parties shall collaborate with a view to the speedy completion of a Pan American highway for all-year traffic of motor vehicles.

It also provides that the high contracting parties shall form a commission of technical experts with the object of coordinating the work of the different governments, of completing studies, and of formulating the necessary projects in those countries which might need the co-operation of the commission. Immediately upon the ratification of the convention the governments shall consult with a view to the appointment of a financial committee composed of the representatives of three of the ratifying governments, which shall submit a detailed report, within six months, accompanied by a plan for the speedy completion of the highway. The governments also undertake to establish in their respective territories at least one permanent public office for the purpose of giving information on the work in progress, the sections of the highway which are passable, the local transit regulations, and all other information which the nationals and tourists of the signatory countries might require.

In addition to the Convention on the Pan American Highway the Conference approved two recommendations and two resolutions dealing with the subject of the improvement of communication facilities.

Maritime Communications

Recommendation XLVII, entitled "Inter-American Maritime Communications" (appendix 73, p. 244), recommends that the American states interested in the development of maritime communications

institute negotiations for the conclusion of bilateral or multilateral conventions for the organization of a shipping service. It states that the establishment of a special steamship service to facilitate inter-American commerce constitutes one of the most valuable means of maintaining and developing a deep spirit of cooperation and solidarity, and mentions the fact that there do not now exist direct, frequent, and regular maritime communications between all the American countries. It also recommends that the American states, in order to assist in the promotion of these shipping services, shall grant to such ships maximum administrative facilities and advantages with regard to port dues and other levies affecting navigation; that those countries interested in attracting such ships to their ports shall agree among themselves on the question of granting subsidies; and that the ships in question must maintain regular navigation services. This recommendation stipulates further that no country can have more than two ships, that the ships must be registered in one of the contracting states, and that they must comply with the requirements established in that state for the granting of the right to fly the national flag. This resolution was due to the initiative of the Argentine Delegation. It will be recalled that a somewhat similar proposal for the establishing of a Pan American merchant marine was presented to the Pan American Commercial Conference in 1935 by Argentina.*

Air Communications

The Conference also approved recommendation XLVIII, entitled "Transportation by Air" (appendix 74, p. 245). It recommended that the American governments study and, so far as possible, apply measures tending toward a reduction in the cost of air transportation and a simplification of present administrative formalities. It likewise recommended that the governments investigate charges, taxes, and fees connected with air transportation, in order that this subject might be considered at the Conference on Aviation to be held at Lima in 1937.

Resolution XLIII, entitled "Barriers to Maritime and Fluvial Communications" (appendix 69, p. 239), recommended to the American governments the immediate negotiation of bilateral or multilateral treaties pledging themselves not to create barriers—national, state, or municipal, legal or administrative—for taxation, protectionist, or consular purposes, concerning maritime or fluvial communications. This resolution also recommended the reduction of existing barriers and charges with a view to the promotion of Pan American commercial interchange.

* See *Report of the Delegates of the United States of America to the Pan American Commercial Conference, Buenos Aires, Argentina, May 26–June 19, 1935*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1936), pp. 15, 126, and 127.

Resolution XLI (appendix 67, p. 238) recommended to the interested governments the study of the possibilities for the extension of the existing ferryboat services between Cuba, Haiti, Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico, and the extension of these services to and from the continent.

COMMITTEE VI: INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION

10. Measures to promote closer intellectual and cultural relations between the American Republics, and the development of the spirit of moral disarmament.

The United States, cognizant of the importance of intellectual cooperation between the American republics, suggested that the following topic be included on the program for the Buenos Aires Conference: "Facilitation by Government Action of the Exchange of Teachers and Students between the American Republics". The United States was convinced that the maintenance of peace requires not only the existence of machinery for the settlement of international disputes but also the existence of a will to use that machinery. It was believed that the promotion of cultural relationships was one of the most practical means of developing in the American republics a public opinion which would favor and support a rule of peace throughout the Western Hemisphere.

Committee VI on Intellectual Cooperation reported five conventions and a great number of resolutions, recommendations, etc.

CONVENTION FOR THE PROMOTION OF INTER-AMERICAN CULTURAL RELATIONS

The most important of these was the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations (appendix 21, p. 167). This convention provides for an annual award by each contracting government of two fellowships to graduate students and teachers from each of the other republics. Each fellowship will provide tuition and subsidiary expenses and maintenance at an institution of higher learning. Such awards are to be made from a panel of five names submitted by each nominating country from which panel the government awarding the fellowship shall select the names of two persons. Such fellowships should be awarded for one year but, under unusual circumstances, might be given for a second year.

Provision was also made for an exchange of professors. Each contracting government will communicate to each of the others through diplomatic channels on the first of January of every alternate year a complete list of the full professors from the outstanding universities, scientific institutions, and technical schools who are available for interchange. From this list each one of the contracting governments shall arrange to select a visiting professor who shall give lectures in various

centers, conduct regular courses of instruction, or pursue special research in some designated institution and who shall in other appropriate ways promote better understanding between the parties cooperating. The expenses of traveling to and from the capital where the exchange professor resides and the salary, maintenance, and local traveling expenses while performing the exchange duties shall be met by the sending government.

The obligations assumed under this convention do not interfere with the independence of the institutions of learning or with the freedom of academic teaching and administration of the several governments. Each government will formulate its own regulations concerning the details for carrying out the provisions of the convention. It is of a reciprocal nature and therefore cannot go into operation until at least two governments have ratified the instrument as between themselves, and it shall remain in effect indefinitely until denounced by means of one year's notice given to the Pan American Union.

CONVENTION ON INTERCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS

The Committee also adopted a Convention on Interchange of Publications (appendix 22, p. 176), whereby the governments agreed to establish in a national or official library a section dedicated to each of the other signatory states. It also provided for an exchange of representative works published in the respective countries.

CONVENTION CONCERNING ARTISTIC EXHIBITIONS

Another instrument, the Convention Concerning Artistic Exhibitions (appendix 23, p. 183), was signed, which provided that the contracting governments extend all possible facilities for holding within their respective territories artistic exhibitions of each of the other countries and that customs formalities and other facilities shall be extended with a view to fostering artistic exhibitions.

CONVENTION CONCERNING PEACEFUL ORIENTATION OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION AND CONVENTION CONCERNING FACILITIES FOR EDUCATIONAL AND PUBLICITY FILMS

Other instruments signed at the Conference were the Convention Concerning Peaceful Orientation of Public Instruction (appendix 24, p. 191) and the Convention Concerning Facilities for Educational and Publicity Films (appendix 25, p. 198), both of which the United States abstained from signing. The statement explaining the posi-

tion of the United States, which was issued at the time the other delegations signed, follows:

The Delegation of the United States of America, while generally sympathetic to measures looking to "the peaceful orientation of public instruction" desires to point out that the system of education in the United States differs from that in other countries of the Americas in that it lies largely outside the sphere of activity of the Federal Government and is supported and administered by the State and Municipal authorities and by private institutions and individuals. The Conference will appreciate, therefore, the constitutional inability of this Delegation to sign the above Convention.

RESOLUTIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, ETC.

Thirty-one resolutions, recommendations, etc., were adopted by the Conference based upon the deliberations of Committee VI. One of the first approved by the Conference was resolution IX (appendix 35, p. 213) recommending the appointment by those governments which have not already done so of National Committees of Intellectual Cooperation, in order that said committees may establish contact with other national committees and with the Division of Intellectual Cooperation of the Pan American Union at Washington and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation at Paris.

Education and Public Instruction

A number of resolutions and recommendations were adopted relating to education and public instruction. Resolution XII (appendix 38, p. 216) recommended certain measures with a view to the revision of history and geography textbooks and the teaching of history. It recommended that the governments ratify the Convention on the Teaching of History, signed at the Seventh International Conference of American States, as well as other instruments on the subject. It likewise recommended certain general principles which should govern the various governments in bringing about a revision of school texts dealing with history and geography.

Resolution LI (appendix 77, p. 247) recommended that the American governments emphasize the teaching of civics in all grades of primary and secondary schools, as well as in schools for adults and other centers of education controlled by the states. It also provided that the Pan American Union shall promote a competition with a view to obtaining a textbook on inter-American civics. The Conference also adopted resolution LIII (appendix 79, p. 248) recommending that inter-American conferences on education be held periodically with a view to the establishment of firmer bonds between directors of teaching.

Resolution XVIII (appendix 44, p. 221) recommended that the governments facilitate an exchange of publications relating to public education, as well as the preparation of comparative studies on

the administrative organization of public education in the various countries.

Libraries and Bibliographies

On the general subject of libraries and bibliographies, the Conference adopted resolution XIX (appendix 45, p. 221) recommending the establishment of reading rooms, dedicated to American newspapers, magazines, and other material, and the promotion of an exchange between these libraries. Resolution XXII (appendix 48, p. 224) recommended the publication in each country of a bibliography of recently published books of a scientific, historical, literary, or artistic character.

Artistic and Cultural Cooperation

Resolutions relating to artistic and cultural cooperation were adopted. Among these were: resolution XXIII (appendix 49, p. 225), recommending that the governments facilitate the transmission of publications and works of art of American authors; resolution LV (appendix 81, p. 250), recommending the participation of the American governments in the Inter-American Exposition of Fine and Industrial Arts to be held in Buenos Aires in 1940; resolution LIX (appendix 85, p. 253), recommending that the Governing Board of the Pan American Union study a plan for the development of closer cooperation between American academies, museums of arts, sciences, history, archeology, and folklore, which plan shall provide the bases for Pan American expositions of fine arts, to be held at the time of each international conference of American states; resolution LX (appendix 86, p. 253), recommending that the governments support the plan for an American ethnological and historical collection; and resolution XX (appendix 46, p. 222), recommending that the governments lend their support to the organization and development of the Association of American Writers and Artists established in Habana and that a conference of American writers and artists be held in Habana to promote an effective *rapprochement* between the intellectual leaders and artists of the Americas.

Intellectual Property

Resolution XXIV (appendix 50, p. 226) was adopted with regard to the Protection of Intellectual Property, recommending that the Pan American Union hasten the negotiation of a treaty to assure the protection of the rights of authors, translators, and performers. Resolution LVI (appendix 82, p. 251) recommended that there be indicated in the bibliographical bulletin of each country the works recognized as intellectual property.

Press

The Conference adopted resolution XXV (appendix 51, p. 226) taking note of the Hispanic-American Congress of Journalists which

was to meet in Valparaíso January 8-16, 1937, and resolution XXVI (appendix 52, p. 226) suggesting to the American press the propriety of publishing articles and contributions which will make known the thoughts of eminent men and the progress of the American countries.

Radio Broadcasting

The Conference adopted three resolutions relative to radio. Resolution XXI (appendix 47, p. 223) recommends that the American governments establish periodical, continental communication by means of radio broadcasting, to be known as the "Pan American Hour". It also recommends that all the countries shall participate with equal rights in this broadcasting and that the Pan American Union shall make regulations for its operation, the quota basis of which shall determine the contributions of each country to meet the expense of maintaining the Pan American Radio Hour.

This Pan American Hour shall concern important happenings on the continent, important governmental action, publication of works of merit and utility, and shall take advantage of national independence anniversaries and other historical dates, etc., with a view to providing knowledge concerning various aspects of the different countries, such as statistical, geographical, and historical reports, folklore, and other information. Comment upon local political affairs in the various countries as well as subversive propaganda will, of course, not be permitted on the Pan American Hour.

Resolution XV (appendix 41, p. 219) recommended that the American governments, "in so far as their respective internal legislation may permit, shall endeavor to encourage, in radio broadcasting, the inclusion of themes relative to the benefits of peace and the peaceful settlement of international controversies, the scientific, intellectual, and material progress of Nations, and the promotion of a spirit of mutual understanding and moral disarmament". It also recommended that the governments endeavor to avoid any radio broadcasting that may disturb the peaceful relations between peoples or wound national sensibilities of listeners in another country. The United States Delegation agreed to this resolution with the understanding that the words in the first paragraph "in so far as their respective internal legislation may permit" are intended also to apply to and limit the language of paragraph 2. The United States Delegation abstained from voting on resolution XIV (appendix 40, p. 218), which recommended that the governments adhere to the international convention on the use of radio broadcasting signed at Geneva, September 23, 1936.

Pan American Union

Resolution LIV (appendix 80, p. 249) was adopted expressing appreciation to the Pan American Union for its collaboration in the work

of the Conference, recommending that a greater scope be given to the work of the Union, and requesting the Governing Board to prepare the necessary study, together with concrete suggestions, for the next conference at Lima.

Pan American Sanitary Bureau

The resolution also recognized the effective work and cooperation of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau and suggested the propriety of extending its activities (appendix 80, p. 249).

Miscellaneous Subjects

Resolution XIII (appendix 39, p. 217) recommended that the governments seek to avoid the exhibition of theatrical productions and films which favor aggressive armaments, disturb good relations between peoples, or invite hatred against foreigners, while resolution XVI (appendix 42, p. 219) recommended that moral disarmament be considered at future inter-American conferences.

Resolution LII (appendix 78, p. 248) recommended that the governments seek to promote the cooperation of private organizations and of other appropriate organizations in matters concerning inter-American friendship. This resolution stated that the groups which form public opinion, such as labor organizations, youth societies, women's clubs, peace societies, and social-service organizations, should be encouraged to accept seriously their responsibility in forming public opinion in favor of inter-American friendship.

The Conference also recommended that the governments promote scouting and that scout jamborees be held periodically (resolution L, appendix 76, p. 246); that the four hundred fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of America be commemorated in a Pan American character (resolution LVII, appendix 83, p. 252); and that a monument be erected in La Paz to pioneers of aviation in America (resolution LVIII, appendix 84, p. 252).

The Conference recommended that the governments adopt the most adequate legislation granting to women full recognition of the rights and duties of citizenship (resolution XVII, appendix 43, p. 220).

Resolutions which were presented to the Conference by the Committee on Initiatives or directly to the plenary sessions were two expressing gratitude to the Presidents of the United States and Argentina and paying homage to them (II, appendix 28, p. 209; and LXII, appendix 88, p. 254) and one recommending that the governments contribute their support to the erection of the Columbus Memorial Lighthouse (LXI, appendix 87, p. 254).

The last resolution adopted (LXIV, appendix 90, p. 255) commended the six mediatory governments for their efforts in the Chaco conflict between Bolivia and Paraguay and expressed the solidarity of

the Conference in the efforts of the mediatory powers in bringing about a definitive settlement. It also appealed to the ex-belligerents to arrive, as soon as possible, at a solution of the dispute.

COORDINATION COMMITTEE

This Committee was responsible for the coordination and style of the various treaties and resolutions adopted by the Conference.

CONCLUSION

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace made a genuine contribution not only to the safeguarding of peace but to the strengthening of democracy and of international order as well.

The principles upon which the instruments adopted at the Conference were based are universal in their application. The faith in the organization of a world for the maintenance of peace rather than for war is applicable not only to the Western Hemisphere but to all other parts of the world. Referring to these principles, Secretary Hull in commenting on the results of the Conference said (appendix 14, p. 114):

The right of each country to manage its own affairs free from outside interference; the principle of sovereignty and of equality of states, irrespective of size and strength; sincere respect for law and the pledged word as the foundation of an international order; friendly and cooperative effort to promote enduring peace, mutually advantageous economic intercourse based upon the rule of equal treatment; and mutually broadening and uplifting cultural relationships—all these are indispensable if the governments of the world are to fulfil the sacred trust involved in the task of planning and providing for the safety and welfare of their peoples.

. . . It is not too much to say that the acts and utterances of the Conference are at once a challenge to the statesmanship of the world and a heartening symbol to the peoples of all nations.

I cannot believe that it is beyond the power of the statesmen of today to check and reverse the drift toward international anarchy, in the direction of which some parts of the world find themselves moving. The work of the recent Conference proves, in my judgment, that no part of the world needs to reconcile itself fatalistically to the inevitability of war. Upon the same basic principles that were implemented at Buenos Aires, the entire world can—and, I hope with all my heart, *will*—build a structure of enduring peace.

Emphasis was placed upon the importance of mutual trust and upon the faith that must be placed in the sanctity of treaty obligations. All the delegations demonstrated their confidence that the maintenance of peace requires the reestablishment of a profound respect for international law and a sincere concern for the higher principles of international relationships.

The Conference succeeded in giving to the principle of consultation a new and effective emphasis. It is contemplated that, in the future, problems of importance to the peace of the American republics will be considered as matters of vital concern to all. Efforts will be made, through consultation, to remedy possible causes of conflict among the American republics before critical situations develop.

The Conference also gave striking proof of the degree of compromise and equality that is possible when nations meet in a spirit of good-will. The instruments adopted at the Conference represented the views of all the delegations rather than a series of projects presented by individual nations, and, consequently, the agreements reached are not in opposition to the interests of any country or group of countries.

The achievements of the Buenos Aires Conference offer hope and encouragement to the peoples of the world who long for peace and prosperity. Secretary Hull in his address at the closing session called upon the peoples and statesmen of the world to reject the theory that war is inevitable. He said (appendix 11, p. 96):

... War is not an act of God but a crime of man. War is something that is provoked by evil passions. Hate, fear, greed, vainglory, the lust for power: these are the progenitors of war. If peoples tolerated war in the past, it has become impossible for them to do so any longer. For the instruments of destruction which have been invented are now so devastating in their effects that compromise with them is no longer possible. To attempt to humanize war is to attempt the impossible. We must destroy war or war will destroy us. I do not believe that peoples will passively accept the conclusion that because men since time immemorial have died on battlefields, they have no choice but to continue to die on battlefields in the future.

The free peoples of the world have come to reject the theory that war is natural and inevitable. They are no longer thrilled by the panoply of the militarists; nor are they carried away by the hysteria of propaganda for war. They know that the love of power is a thing of evil. They would cry "halt" to any who, through love of power, would break the peace. Glory is not to be achieved by the march of armies and the death of men.

Those who sit in the masters' seats and shape the destinies of other men are under the most imperative of mandates to leave no course which may avoid war unexplored. The real patriots and the real heroes of the future will be the leaders who find and follow the road to peace.

The work of the Conference is noteworthy, but positive action by the governments and peoples to put the treaties and resolutions into effect is necessary. The responsibility for putting them into practical operation lies upon public opinion. If the same spirit which prompted the action of the Conference guides the peoples of the twenty-one republics in putting those instruments into effect, it will mark the most effective progress of recent years toward peace and democracy. Secretary Hull's closing remarks to the Conference contain the following appeal (appendix 11, p. 97):

We here have witnessed significant advances toward the establishment of a permanent peace for this hemisphere. Let us each go our way determined to

carry forward our program and to emblazon upon the banners of our republics the spirit in which it was conceived. Let us return to our particular problems and duties pledging that we will, individually and collectively, reject the counsels of force. Let us hold out to a darkened world the beacon of a just and permanent peace which we pledge ourselves to maintain on this American continent. May the spirit and the example which we have consecrated here be of avail throughout the world.

The Delegates of the United States take this opportunity to place on record their appreciation of the hospitality with which they were received during their sojourn in Buenos Aires. Special appreciation is due to the generous hospitality of His Excellency Agustín P. Justo, President of the Argentine Republic, His Excellency Dr. Carlos Saavedra Lamas, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Argentina, and to other members of the Argentine Government.

The Delegates also express their appreciation to His Excellency Felipe A. Espil, Argentine Ambassador to the United States and Secretary General of the Conference, and to other members of the Secretariat of the Conference for their assistance and cooperation.

CORDELL HULL
SUMNER WELLES
ALEXANDER W. WEDDELL
ADOLF A. BERLE, JR.
ALEXANDER F. WHITNEY
CHARLES G. FENWICK
MICHAEL FRANCIS DOYLE
ELISE F. MUSSER

APPENDIXES

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE

Appendix 1

LETTER OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, TO THE PRESIDENTS OF
ALL OTHER AMERICAN REPUBLICS, PROPOSING AN
INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE TO CONSIDER THE
MEANS OF MAINTAINING PEACE

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 30, 1936.*

His Excellency

AGUSTÍN P. JUSTO,

*President of the Argentine Republic,
Buenos Aires.*

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:*

The agreement by the Governments of Bolivia and Paraguay upon the peace protocols recently negotiated at Buenos Aires has afforded the Government and people of the United States the deepest gratification, since it has led them to hope that there is now every prospect of a permanent and equitable solution of this tragic controversy, which has continued for so long a period; which has caused the sacrifice of so many lives; and which has placed so crushing a burden of expenditure upon the citizens of the two belligerent nations. I know well with what intimate concern the Government and people of Argentina have followed the course of these hostilities, and their happiness at the termination of the conflict is fully shared by the Government and people of the United States.

I cherish the sincere conviction that the moment has now arrived when the American republics, through their designated representatives seated at a common council table, should seize this altogether favorable opportunity to consider their joint responsibility and their common need of rendering less likely in the future the outbreak or the continuation of hostilities between them, and by so doing, serve in an eminently practical manner the cause of permanent peace on this Western Continent. If the tragedy of the Chaco can be considered as having served any useful end, I believe such end will lie

*The same letter, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Presidents of all other American republics.

in our joint willingness to profit from the experience learned and to exert our common endeavors in guarding against the repetition of such American disasters.

It has seemed to me that the American governments might for these reasons view favorably the suggestion that an extraordinary inter-American conference be summoned to assemble at an early date, at Buenos Aires, should the Government of the Argentine Republic so desire, or, if not, at some other capital of this continent, to determine how the maintenance of peace among the American republics may best be safeguarded—whether, perhaps, through the prompt ratification of all of the inter-American peace instruments already negotiated; whether through the amendment of existing peace instruments in such manner as experience has demonstrated to be most necessary; or perhaps through the creation by common accord of new instruments of peace additional to those already formulated.

These steps, furthermore, would advance the cause of world peace, inasmuch as the agreements which might be reached would supplement and reinforce the efforts of the League of Nations and of all other existing or future peace agencies in seeking to prevent war.

With the conclusion of the Chaco war and with the reestablishment of peace throughout this continent, there would appear to be offered an opportunity for helpful counsel among our respective governments which may not soon again be presented. Your Excellency's devotion to the maintenance of peace between the American republics is well known, and I would therefore deeply appreciate such views as Your Excellency may care to express to me, as I would likewise value highly Your Excellency's opinion whether such a special inter-American conference of the American republics would not in fact prove most beneficial.

I am addressing myself thus personally to Your Excellency, instead of through the usual diplomatic channels, because of my thought that the questions at issue are of such vital concern to the people of this continent as to warrant a personal interchange of views between the Presidents of the American republics.

With the expression of my warm regard, believe me, my dear Mr. President,

Faithfully yours,

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

Appendix 2

PROGRAM OF THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE FOR
THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE

I

ORGANIZATION OF PEACE

1. Methods for the prevention and pacific settlement of inter-American disputes.

- (a) Consideration of possible causes of controversy and of measures for their peaceful solution, excepting questions already settled by treaties.
- (b) Coordination and perfecting of existing international instruments for the maintenance of peace, and desirability of incorporating them in one instrument.
- (c) Consideration of additional measures for the maintenance of peace and the pacific settlement of inter-American controversies.
- (d) Measures intended to secure the prompt ratification of treaties and conventions for the maintenance of peace.
- (e) Generalization of the inter-American juridical system for the maintenance of peace.
- (f) Creation of an Inter-American Court of Justice.

2. Consideration of other measures tending toward closer association of the American Republics and of measures of cooperation with other international entities.

II

NEUTRALITY

3. Consideration of rules regarding the rights and duties of neutrals and belligerents.

III

LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

4. Necessity of limiting the organization and armaments of national defense, so as only to guarantee internal security of the States and their defense against foreign aggression.

IV

JURIDICAL PROBLEMS

5. Consideration of methods for the future codification of International Law.

6. Formulation of principles with respect to the elimination of force and of diplomatic intervention in cases of pecuniary claims and other private actions.

7. Unification of the international American principle and of national legislation with respect to the problems of nationality.

V

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

8. Measures to promote closer economic relations among the American Republics.

- (a) Tariff truces and customs agreements.
- (b) Agreement on sanitary regulations affecting the interchange of animal and vegetable products.
- (c) Equality of opportunity in international trade.
- (d) Financial cooperation.
- (e) International aspects of the problems of immigration.
- (f) Promotion of travel.
- (g) Other measures.

9. Improvement of communication facilities.

- (a) Maritime communications.
- (b) The Pan American Highway.
- (c) Other measures.

VI

INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION

10. Measures to promote closer intellectual and cultural relations between the American Republics, and the development of the spirit of moral disarmament.

Appendix 3

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNING BOARD OF
THE PAN AMERICAN UNION IN APPROVING THE PROGRAM
AND REGULATIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

The Governing Board of the Pan American Union, having examined the Report of the Committee and the Project of Program and Regulations of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace,

RESOLVES:

To approve these documents and to recommend to the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace that, in harmony with the report of the Committee, preferential consideration be given to the questions relating to the organization of peace and that the Conference determine which of the other topics, whether of an economic, commercial or cultural character, are sufficiently ripe or merit a sufficiently general consensus of approval to make advisable their consideration; as well as those which should be referred to special conferences or to the Eighth International Conference of American States.

Appendix 4

OFFICIALS OF THE CONFERENCE AND DELEGATIONS

Temporary President of the Conference: Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Minister of Foreign Relations of Argentina

President of the Conference: Carlos Saavedra Lamas, Minister of
Foreign Relations of Argentina

Secretary General of the Conference: Felipe A. Espil, Ambassador of
Argentina to the United States of America

Assistant Secretary General of the Conference: Dívico A. Fürnkorn of
Argentina

Pan American Union:

Leo S. Rowe, Director General

William Manger, Counselor

DELEGATIONS

ARGENTINA

Chairman:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas

Plenipotentiary Delegates:

Roberto M. Ortiz

Miguel Angel Cárcano

José María Cantilo

Felipe A. Espil

Leopoldo Melo

Isidoro Ruiz Moreno

Daniel Antokoletz

Alternates:

Carlos Brebbia

César Díaz Cisneros

Assistant Secretary General of the Conference:

Dívico A. Fürnkorn

Technical Adviser Secretaries:

Raúl Prebisch

Héctor Ghiraldo

Luis S. Castiñeiras

Pablo Santos Muñoz

Carlos L. Torriani

Raúl Rodríguez Araya

Ovidio V. Schiopetto

Martín T. Ruíz Moreno

Technical Advisers:

Alfredo Lucadamo

Alfredo Louro

Detailed to the Secretariat General:

Adolfo Scilingo

BOLIVIA

Chairman:

Enrique Finot

Delegates:

David Alvéstegui

Eduardo Díez de Medina

Alberto Ostria Gutiérrez

Carlos Romero

Alberto Cortadellas

Javier Paz Campero

Secretaries:

Alfredo Flores

Carlos Montenegro

Augusto Céspedes

BRAZIL

Chairman:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares

Plenipotentiary Delegates:

Oswaldo Aranha

José de Paula Rodrigues Alves

Helio Lobo

Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly

Edmundo da Luz Pinto

Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça

Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller (Sra.)

Maria Luiza Bittencourt (Sra.)

Technical Advisers:

Lafayette de Carvalho e Silva

Cyro de Freitas Valle

Secretary General:

Carlos Celso de Ouro Preto

Advisers:

James Philip Mee

Oswaldo Furst

Octavio de Nascimento Brito

Assistant:

Otto Prazeres

Secretaries:

Vasco Leitao da Cunha

Jaymé Chermont

Orlando Leite Ribeiro

Francisco d'Alamo Louzada

Orlando Arruda

Odetto de Carvalho e Souza

Aide to the Chairman of the Delegation:

Carlos da Carvalho Rego

Assistants:

Renato Rino de Carvalho

Fernando Saboia de Medeiros

Sergio de Lima e Silva

Vera Regina Amaral

Frank de Mendonça Moscoso

Aloysio Salles

CHILE

Chairman:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal

Plenipotentiary Delegates:

Luis Barros Borgoño

Félix Nieto del Río

Ricardo Montaner Bello

Advisers and Delegates:

Desiderio García Ahumada

Benjamín Cohen

Attaché to the Delegation:

Alberto Cruchaga Ossa

Secretaries:

Juan Zúñiga Arancibia

Alejandro Bertrand Vergara

Enrique Bernstein Carabantes

Attachés to the Delegation:

Carlos García de la Huerta

Fernando Zañartu Campino

Pedro Eyzaguirre del Carril

COLOMBIA

Chairman:

Jorge Soto del Corral

Delegates:

Miguel López Pumarejo
Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez
Alberto Lleras Camargo
José Ignacio Díaz Granados

Secretaries:

Luis A. Payán
Eduardo Carrizosa

COSTA RICA

Chairman:

Manuel F. Jiménez

Delegate:

Carlos Brenes

CUBA

Chairman:

José Manuel Cortina

Plenipotentiary Delegates:

Ramón Zaydin
Carlos Márquez Sterling
Rafael Santos Jiménez
César Salaya
Calixto Whitmarsh
José Manuel Carbonell

Secretary General:

José Manuel Cortina y Corrales

Secretaries:

Ramiro Hernández Portela
Gabriel Suárez Solar

Assistant Secretary:

Julio Morales Gómez

Technical Advisers:

Rogelio Pina
Aurelio Portuondo
Angel González del Valle

Attachés:

Guillermo de las Cuevas
Tomás Gassó
Jorge Casteleiro
Mario Fuentes Aguilera

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Chairman:

Max Henríquez Ureña

Delegates:

Tulio M. Cestero
Enrique Jiménez

Secretary General:

Emilio García Godoy

ECUADOR

Chairman:

Humberto Albornoz

Delegates:

Antonio Pons
José Gabriel Navarro
Francisco Guarderas
Eduardo Salazar Gómez

Secretaries:

Carlos Proaño Alvarez
Abel Romeo Castillo

EL SALVADOR

Chairman:

Manuel Castro Ramírez

Plenipotentiary Delegate:

Maximiliano Patricio Brannon

Secretary:

Joaquín Leiva

GUATEMALA

Chairman:

Carlos Salazar

Delegate:

José A. Medrano

Delegate and Secretary:

Alfonso Carrillo

Clerk:

Guillermo Alfonso Medrano

HAITI

Chairman:

H. Pauleus Sannon

Delegates:

Camille J. León
Elie Lescot
Edmé Manigat
Clément Magloire
Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse

Secretary:

Jean Fouchard

Assistant:

Edith Wooley

HONDURAS

Chairman:

Antonio Bermúdez M.

Delegate:

Julián López Pineda

Secretary:

Angel G. Hernández

MEXICO

Chairman:

Francisco Castillo Nájera

Plenipotentiary Delegates:

Alfonso Reyes

Ramón Beteta

Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo

Technical Advisers:

Agustín Leñero

Alejandro Gómez Maganda

Luis Garrido

Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros

Secretary General:

Pablo Campos Ortiz

Secretaries:

Rafael Fuentes, Jr.

Fernando Lagarde y Vigil

NICARAGUA

Chairman:

Luis Manuel Debayle

Plenipotentiary Delegates:

José María Moncada

Modesto Valle

PANAMA

Chairman:

Harmodio Arias M.

Delegates:

Julio J. Fábrega

Eduardo Chiari

Secretary:

Manuel María Valdés

PARAGUAY

Chairman:

Miguel Angel Soler

Delegate:

J. Isidro Ramírez

Secretaries:

Marco Antonio Laconich

César Irala Ferreira

PERU

Chairman:

Carlos Concha

Delegates:

Alberto Ulloa

Felipe Barreda Laos

Diómedes Arias Schreiber

Secretary General:

Eduardo Garland Roel

Attaché:

Fernando Melgar

Assistant:

Juan Miguel Bákula

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Chairman:

Cordell Hull

Delegates:

Sumner Welles

Alexander W. Weddell

Adolf A. Berle, Jr.

Alexander F. Whitney

Charles G. Fenwick

Michael Francis Doyle

Elise F. Musser (Mrs.)

Secretary General:

Richard Southgate

Secretary to the Chairman of the Delegation:

Edward L. Reed

Legal Counselor:

Emilio del Toro Cuevas

Special Attaché to the Delegation:

Mrs. Warren Delano Robbins

Special Advisers:

R. Henry Norweb
Herbert Feis
George F. Milton
Samuel Guy Inman

Technical Advisers:

Joseph R. Baker
Robert M. Carr
Warren Kelchner
Leroy D. Stinebower
Marjorie M. Whiteman

Press Officer:

Howard Bucknell, Jr.

Secretaries:

Joseph C. Satterthwaite
Cecil W. Gray

Attachés to the Secretary:

Allen Haden
Reginald Bragonier, Jr.

URUGUAY

Chairman:

José Espalter

Plenipotentiary Delegates:

Pedro Manini Ríos
Eugenio Martínez Thedy
Juan Antonio Buero
Felipe Ferreiro
Andrés F. Puyol
Abalcázar García
José G. Antuña
Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso
Gervasio Posadas Belgrano

Secretary General:

José A. Mora Otero

Secretaries:

Mario Falcao Espalter
Daniel Herrera y Thode

Private Secretary to the Chairman:

Arturo Massanés

Secretaries to the Chairman:

Arturo Terra Arocena
Héctor Gorbarán Herrera

Associate Secretaries:

Leonel Martínez Thédy
Aureliano Rodríguez Larreta

Assigned to the Secretary General:

Eduardo Varela
Horacio Herrera Méndez

VENEZUELA

Chairman:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez

Delegates:

Gustavo Herrera
Alberto Zérega Fombona

Counselor on Economic Affairs:

Saverio Barbarito

Secretaries:

Ramón Carmona
Luis Correa

Attachés:

Juan de Dios Celis Paredes
Luis Coll Pacheco

Appendix 5

REGULATIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

CHAPTER I

Personnel of the Conference

SECTION I

Temporary President

ARTICLE 1. The President of the Argentine Republic shall designate the temporary president who shall preside at the opening session and shall continue to preside until the Conference elects a permanent president.

SECTION II

Permanent President

ARTICLE 2. The permanent president of the Conference shall be elected by an absolute majority of the States represented at the Conference.

ARTICLE 3. The duties of the permanent president shall be:

First. To preside at the meetings of the Conference and to submit for consideration in their regular order the subjects contained in the order of the day.

Second. To concede the floor to the delegates in the order in which they may have requested it.

Third. To decide all questions of order raised during the debates of the Conference. Nevertheless, if any delegate shall so request, the ruling made by the chair shall be submitted to the Conference for decision.

Fourth. To call for votes and to announce the result of the vote to the Conference, as provided for by article 17.

Fifth. To transmit to the delegates in advance, through the secretary general, the order of business of each plenary session.

Sixth. To direct the secretary, after the approval of the minutes, to lay before the Conference such matters as may have been presented since the last meeting.

Seventh. To prescribe all necessary measures for the maintenance of order and strict compliance with the regulations.

SECTION III

Vice Presidents

ARTICLE 4. In the first session there shall be settled by lot the numerical order of the delegations for the purpose of establishing the order of precedence of their location. In this order the presidents of the delegations shall be called to occupy the chair in the absence of the president as provided by these regulations.

ARTICLE 5. In case of the absence of the president, the respective vice president shall perform the duties of president in accordance with article 3.

SECTION IV

Secretary General

ARTICLE 6. The Secretary General of the Conference shall be appointed by the President of the Argentine Republic.

ARTICLE 7. The duties of the Secretary General are:

First. To organize, direct, and coordinate the work of the assistant secretaries, secretaries of committees, interpreters, clerks, and other employees which the Government of the Argentine Republic may appoint for service with the secretariat of the Conference.

Second. To receive, distribute, and answer the official correspondence of the Conference in conformity with the resolutions of that body.

Third. To prepare, or cause to be prepared under his supervision, the minutes of the meeting in conformity with the notes

the secretaries shall furnish him; and to distribute among the delegates, before each session, printed or mimeographed copies of the minutes of the previous session, for the consideration of the Conference.

Fourth. To revise the translations made by the interpreters of the Conference.

Fifth. To distribute among the committees the matters on which they are required to present reports, and place at the disposal of the committees everything that may be necessary for the discharge of their duties.

Sixth. To prepare the order of the day in conformity with the instructions of the President.

Seventh. To be the intermediary between the delegations or their respective members in matters relating to the Conference and between the delegates and the Argentine authorities.

Eighth. To transmit the original minutes of the Conference and of the committees to the Director General of the Pan American Union for preservation in the archives of the Union.

Ninth. To perform such other functions as may be assigned to him by the regulations, by the Conference, or by the President.

CHAPTER II

Committees of the Conference

ARTICLE 8. Such committees as the Conference may consider necessary shall be organized to study, report, and formulate projects on the topics of the program. Each delegation shall be entitled to be represented by one or more of their members on each committee. The president of the Conference shall designate the membership of the committees in accordance with the lists submitted by the presidents of delegations, indicating the members of the delegations who are to serve on each committee.

A Committee on Initiatives shall be organized, composed of the presidents of delegations and presided over by the President of the Conference.

At the first plenary session the president, with the approval of the Conference, shall name a Committee on Credentials.

ARTICLE 9. Each committee shall elect from among its members a chairman and a vice chairman.

ARTICLE 10. The chairman of each committee shall appoint a reporting delegate for each topic or each group of related topics. The functions of the reporting delegates shall be:

First. To initiate the discussion of the question under consideration and present a report containing the antecedents and an

analysis of the various aspects of the question, which shall serve as a basis of discussion.

Second. At the conclusion of the discussion, the reporting delegate shall summarize the debate in a report and shall formulate, in accordance with the opinion of the majority of the committee, the project which, after approval by the committee, shall be submitted to the Conference. A general reporting delegate may be appointed to submit the conclusions of the committee to the Conference.

Third. The minority group of a committee shall have the right to designate a reporting delegate to present their views to the Conference, and the project which they may formulate.

CHAPTER III

The Delegations

ARTICLE 11. Delegates may speak in their own languages from manuscript or otherwise. The interpreters shall render a summary of the speech in the other official languages of the Conference, unless the speaker or any delegate may request a complete translation of his remarks.

The interpreters shall also render in the other official languages the remarks of the president and the secretary general of the Conference.

ARTICLE 12. Any delegate may submit to the Conference his written opinion upon the matter under discussion, and may request that it be spread upon the minutes of the meeting in which it has been submitted.

A delegation not present at the session may deposit or transmit its vote in writing to the secretary. In this event, the delegation shall be considered as present and its vote counted.

ARTICLE 13. The Director General of the Pan American Union shall be considered as a member *ex officio* of the Conference, but without a right to vote.

CHAPTER IV

Meetings of the Conference and the Committees

ARTICLE 14. The first meeting shall be held at the time and place designated by the Government of the Argentine Republic, and the further sessions on such days as the Conference may determine.

ARTICLE 15. To hold a meeting it is necessary that a majority of the nations attending the Conference be represented by at least one of their delegates.

ARTICLE 16. At the opening of the meeting the secretary general shall read the minutes of the preceding meeting, unless such reading is dispensed with. Notes shall be taken of any remarks the president or any of the delegates may make thereon, and approval of the minutes shall be in order.

ARTICLE 17. In the deliberations in the plenary sessions as well as in the committees, the delegation of each Republic represented at the Conference shall have but one vote, and the votes shall be taken separately by countries and shall be recorded in the minutes.

Votes as a general rule shall be taken orally, unless any delegate should request that they be taken in writing. In this case each delegation shall deposit in an urn a ballot containing the name of the nation which it represents and the sense in which the vote is cast. The secretary shall read aloud these ballots and count the votes.

ARTICLE 18. The Conference shall not proceed to vote on any report, project, or proposal relating to any of the subjects included in the program, except when at least two-thirds of the nations attending the Conference are represented by one or more delegates.

ARTICLE 19. All proposals amending the motion, project, or resolution under consideration shall be referred to the respective committee, unless the Conference shall by a two-thirds vote decide otherwise.

ARTICLE 20. Amendments shall be submitted for discussion and put to a vote before the article or motion the text of which they are intended to modify is acted upon.

ARTICLE 21. The Conference may, by a two-thirds vote of the delegations present, suspend the rules and proceed to the consideration of a motion, provided, however, that in all cases the procedure with respect to new topics as set forth in article 25 shall be followed.

ARTICLE 22. Except in cases expressly indicated in these regulations, proposals, reports, and projects under consideration by the Conference shall be considered approved when they have obtained the affirmative vote of an absolute majority of the delegations represented by one or more of their members at the meeting where the vote is taken. The delegation which may have sent its vote to the secretary shall be considered as present at the meeting.

ARTICLE 23. The following may attend the sessions of the Conference and of the committees: The delegates with their respective secretaries and attachés; the Director General and other accredited representatives of the Pan American Union; the secretaries and members of the secretariat of the Conference; duly accredited representatives of the press; and any others to whom the Conference may by a majority vote extend this privilege.

At the request of any delegation the Conference may agree to go into secret session. A motion to this effect shall immediately be put and voted upon without discussion.

At the close of the session the secretary general shall issue to the press a statement summarizing the results of the session, except in the event set forth in the preceding paragraph, in which case the Conference shall decide as to the publication of the results of the session.

ARTICLE 24. The official languages of the Conference shall be Spanish, English, Portuguese, and French. The reports, projects, and other documents shall be printed and submitted to the consideration of the Conference and of the committees at least in Spanish and English.

The reports and projects shall be submitted for discussion at a meeting subsequent to that at which they were distributed.

CHAPTER V

New Topics

ARTICLE 25. If any delegation should propose for the consideration of the Conference a topic not included in the program, the topic shall be referred to the Committee on Initiatives, and after submission of its report and acceptance by a two-thirds vote of the delegations, the topic shall be referred to the respective technical committee.

CHAPTER VI

SECTION I

Minutes of the Sessions

ARTICLE 26. The minutes approved by the Conference shall be signed by the president and the secretary general. The minutes approved by the committees shall be signed by the respective presidents and secretaries. The minutes shall be printed in Spanish, English, Portuguese, and French, in pages of two columns, and a sufficient number of copies shall be issued so that each delegate may receive four copies. The original minutes shall be preserved in the archives of the Pan American Union.

SECTION II

Final Act

ARTICLE 27. The final act shall be prepared as the work of the Conference develops. After each plenary session there shall be inserted in the draft of the final act, with a number and a title indicating the subject matter, the treaties, conventions, resolutions, agreements, votes, and recommendations approved at the session and the date of the session on which they were approved. The day before the closing of the Conference the secretary general shall submit to the delegates for examination copies of the final act in Spanish, English, Portuguese, and French. The delegates shall communicate to the secretary general whatever comments they may have to make with respect to the drafting of the final act. The original of the final act shall be signed by the delegations at the closing session of the conference and transmitted by the secretary general to the Minister of Foreign Affairs

of the Argentine Republic in order that certified copies may be sent to the Governments of the American Republics and to the Pan American Union within ninety days following the close of the Conference.

CHAPTER VII

Diplomatic Instruments

ARTICLE 28. Immediately after the approval of a treaty or convention the original instrument shall be drafted in Spanish, English, Portuguese, and French and submitted to the delegations for examination, and shall be signed at the final session. After signature, the instrument shall be transmitted by the secretary general of the Conference to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic, who shall transmit certified copies to the Governments of the American Republics represented at the Conference and to the Pan American Union.

The signatory States shall deposit in the Pan American Union the instruments of ratification of the treaties and conventions signed at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, and the Pan American Union shall notify the other signatory States of the deposit.

CHAPTER VIII

Amendments to the Regulations

ARTICLE 29. These regulations, after approval by the Governing Board, shall be transmitted to the Conference, through the intermediary of the Government of the Argentine Republic. The regulations shall be subject to such modifications as may be determined by a vote of two-thirds of the delegations at the Conference.

Appendix 6

COMMITTEES OF THE CONFERENCE

COMMITTEE ON INITIATIVES

(Composed of the heads of the several delegations)

<i>Chairman:</i>	Carlos Saavedra Lamas (<i>Argentina</i>)
<i>Bolivia:</i>	Enrique Finot
<i>Brazil:</i>	José Carlos de Macedo Soares
<i>Colombia:</i>	Jorge Soto del Corral
<i>Costa Rica:</i>	Manuel F. Jiménez
<i>Cuba:</i>	José Manuel Cortina
<i>Chile:</i>	Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal

<i>Ecuador:</i>	Humberto Albornoz
<i>El Salvador:</i>	Manuel Castro Ramírez
<i>United States of America:</i>	Cordell Hull
<i>Guatemala:</i>	Carlos Salazar
<i>Haiti:</i>	H. Pauleus Sannon
<i>Honduras:</i>	Antonio Bermúdez M.
<i>Mexico:</i>	Francisco Castillo Nájera
<i>Nicaragua:</i>	Luis Manuel Debayle
<i>Panama:</i>	Harmodio Arias M.
<i>Paraguay:</i>	Miguel Angel Soler
<i>Peru:</i>	Carlos Concha
<i>Dominican Republic:</i>	Max Henríquez Ureña
<i>Uruguay:</i>	José Espalter
<i>Venezuela:</i>	Caracciolo Parra Pérez
<i>Pan American Union</i>	Leo S. Rowe

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

J. Isidro Ramírez (*Paraguay*), *Chairman*
H. Pauleus Sannon (*Haiti*)
Abalcázar García (*Uruguay*)

COORDINATION COMMITTEE

Benjamín Cohen (*Chile*), *Chairman*
Helio Lobo (*Brazil*)
Alexander W. Weddell (*United States of America*)
Adolf A. Berle (*United States of America*)
H. Pauleus Sannon (*Haiti*)

COMMITTEE I: ORGANIZATION OF PEACE

1. Methods for the prevention and pacific settlement of inter-American disputes.

- (a) Consideration of possible causes of controversy and of measures for their peaceful solution, excepting questions already settled by treaties.
- (b) Coordination and perfecting of existing international instruments for the maintenance of peace, and desirability of incorporating them in one instrument.
- (c) Consideration of additional measures for the maintenance of peace and the pacific settlement of inter-American controversies.
- (d) Measures intended to secure the prompt ratification of treaties and conventions for the maintenance of peace.

- (e) Generalization of the inter-American juridical system for the maintenance of peace.
- (f) Creation of an Inter-American Court of Justice.

2. Consideration of other measures tending toward closer association of the American republics and of measures of cooperation with other international entities.

<i>Chairman:</i>	Francisco Castillo Nájera (<i>Mexico</i>)
<i>Vice Chairman:</i>	Manuel F. Jiménez (<i>Costa Rica</i>)
<i>Argentina:</i>	Carlos Saavedra Lamas Leopoldo Melo José María Cantilo Isidoro Ruiz Moreno Daniel Antokoletz César Díaz Cisneros
<i>Paraguay:</i>	J. Isidro Ramírez Marco Antonio Laconich
<i>Honduras:</i>	Antonio Bermúdez M. Julián López Pineda
<i>Venezuela:</i>	Caracciolo Parra Pérez Gustavo Herrera
<i>Peru:</i>	Carlos Concha Felipe Barreda Laos
<i>El Salvador:</i>	Manuel Castro Ramírez Maximiliano Patricio Brannon
<i>Mexico:</i>	Alfonso Reyes Ramón Beteta Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo
<i>Brazil:</i>	Oswaldo Aranha José de Paula Rodrigues Alves Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly Oswaldo Furst Octavio de Nascimento Brito
<i>Uruguay:</i>	Juan Antonio Buero José G. Antuña Gervasio Posadas Belgrano
<i>Guatemala:</i>	Carlos Salazar Alfonso Carrillo
<i>Nicaragua:</i>	Luis Manuel Debayle Modesto Valle José María Moncada
<i>Dominican Republic:</i>	Max Henríquez Ureña
<i>Colombia:</i>	Jorge Soto del Corral Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez Alberto Lleras Camargo

<i>Panama:</i>	Harmodio Arias M. Julio J. Fábrega Eduardo Chiari
<i>United States of America:</i>	Sumner Welles Adolf A. Berle, Jr. Charles G. Fenwick
<i>Chile:</i>	Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal Félix Nieto del Río Benjamín Cohen
<i>Ecuador:</i>	Humberto Alborno Antonio Pons Francisco Guarderas José Gabriel Navarro
<i>Bolivia:</i>	Enrique Finot David Alvéstegui Alberto Ostria Gutiérrez Javier Paz Campero
<i>Haiti:</i>	Camille J. León Edmé Manigat
<i>Cuba:</i>	José Manuel Cortina César Salaya Ramón Zaydin

COMMITTEE II: NEUTRALITY

3. Consideration of rules regarding the rights and duties of neutrals and belligerents.

<i>Chairman:</i>	Alberto Ulloa (<i>Peru</i>)
<i>Vice Chairman:</i>	Francisco Guarderas (<i>Ecuador</i>)
<i>Argentina:</i>	José María Cantilo Leopoldo Melo Isidoro Ruiz Moreno Daniel Antokoletz
<i>Paraguay:</i>	Miguel Angel Soler J. Isidro Ramírez
<i>Honduras:</i>	Antonio Bermúdez M. Julián López Pineda
<i>Costa Rica:</i>	Manuel F. Jiménez
<i>Venezuela:</i>	Caracciolo Parra Pérez Gustavo Herrera
<i>Peru:</i>	Diómedes Arias Schreiber
<i>El Salvador:</i>	Manuel Castro Ramírez
<i>Mexico:</i>	Francisco Castillo Nájera Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo Luis Garrido

<i>Brazil:</i>	Oswaldo Aranha Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly Edmundo da Luz Pinto Octavio de Nascimento Brito
<i>Uruguay:</i>	Pedro Manini Ríos Juan Antonio Buero Gervasio Posadas Belgrano
<i>Guatemala:</i>	Carlos Salazar
<i>Nicaragua:</i>	Luis Manuel Debayle Modesto Valle
<i>Dominican Republic:</i>	Tulio M. Cestero
<i>Colombia:</i>	Miguel López Pumarejo Alberto Lleras Camargo José Ignacio Díaz Granados
<i>Panama:</i>	Eduardo Chiari
<i>United States of America:</i>	Sumner Welles Charles G. Fenwick Elise F. Musser (Mrs.) Alexander W. Weddell
<i>Chile:</i>	Félix Nieto del Río Ricardo Montaner Bello
<i>Ecuador:</i>	José Gabriel Navarro
<i>Bolivia:</i>	Enrique Finot Eduardo Díez de Medina Javier Paz Campero
<i>Haiti:</i>	H. Pauleus Sannon
<i>Cuba:</i>	Carlos Márquez Sterling Ramón Zaydin César Salaya

COMMITTEE III: LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

4. Necessity of limiting the organization and armaments of national defense, so as only to guarantee internal security of the States and their defense against foreign aggression.

<i>Chairman:</i>	Luis Barros Borgoño (<i>Chile</i>)
<i>Vice Chairman:</i>	Antonio Bermúdez M. (<i>Honduras</i>)
<i>Argentina:</i>	José María Cantilo Daniel Antokoletz
<i>Paraguay:</i>	J. Isidro Ramírez Marco Antonio Laconich
<i>Honduras:</i>	Julián López Pineda
<i>Costa Rica:</i>	Carlos Brenes

<i>Venezuela:</i>	Alberto Zérega Fombona
<i>Peru:</i>	Carlos Concha
	Alberto Ulloa
<i>El Salvador:</i>	Joaquín Leiva
<i>Mexico:</i>	Alejandro Gómez Maganda
	Luis Garrido
<i>Brazil:</i>	José de Paula Rodrigues Alves
	Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça
<i>Ecuador:</i>	Antonio Pons
	Francisco Guarderas
<i>Bolivia:</i>	Alberto Ostria Gutiérrez
	Carlos Romero
<i>Haiti:</i>	Camille J. León
<i>Cuba:</i>	Carlos Márquez Sterling
	Calixto Whitmarsh
	César Salaya
<i>Uruguay:</i>	Eugenio Martínez Thedy
	Andrés F. Puyol
	Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso
<i>Guatemala:</i>	Alfonso Carrillo
<i>Nicaragua:</i>	Luis Manuel Debayle
	José María Moncada
<i>Dominican Republic:</i>	Max Henríquez Ureña
<i>Colombia:</i>	José Ignacio Díaz Granados
	Miguel López Pumarejo
<i>Panama:</i>	Julio J. Fábrega
<i>United States of America:</i>	Alexander W. Weddell
	Michael Francis Doyle
	Alexander F. Whitney
	Elise F. Musser (Mrs.)
<i>Chile:</i>	Félix Nieto del Río

COMMITTEE IV: JURIDICAL PROBLEMS

5. Consideration of methods for the future codification of International Law.

6. Formulation of principles with respect to the elimination of force and of diplomatic intervention in cases of pecuniary claims and other private actions.

7. Unification of the international American principle and of national legislation with respect to the problems of nationality.

<i>Chairman:</i>	Harmodio Arias M. (<i>Panama</i>)
<i>Vice Chairman:</i>	Manuel Castro Ramírez (<i>El Salvador</i>)

<i>Argentina:</i>	Leopoldo Melo Daniel Antokoletz César Díaz Cisneros
<i>Paraguay:</i>	Miguel Angel Soler César Irala Ferreira
<i>Honduras:</i>	Antonio Bermúdez M. Julián López Pineda
<i>Costa Rica:</i>	Manuel F. Jiménez
<i>Venezuela:</i>	Caracciolo Parra Pérez Gustavo Herrera
<i>Peru:</i>	Alberto Ulloa Diómedes Arias Schreiber
<i>El Salvador:</i>	Maximiliano Patricio Brannon
<i>Mexico:</i>	Ramón Beteta Agustín Leñero Luis Garrido
<i>Brazil:</i>	Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly Edmundo da Luz Pinto Octavio de Nascimento Brito
<i>Uruguay:</i>	Juan Antonio Buero Felipe Ferreira Abalcázar García
<i>Guatemala:</i>	Alfonso Carrillo
<i>Nicaragua:</i>	Modesto Valle José María Moncada
<i>Dominican Republic:</i>	Enrique Jiménez
<i>Colombia:</i>	Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez José Ignacio Díaz Granados Jorge Soto del Corral
<i>Panama:</i>	Julio J. Fábrega Eduardo Chiari
<i>United States of America:</i>	Charles G. Fenwick Adolf A. Berle, Jr. Michael Francis Doyle
<i>Chile:</i>	Luis Barros Borgoño Ricardo Montaner Bello
<i>Ecuador:</i>	José Gabriel Navarro Francisco Guarderas
<i>Bolivia:</i>	Alberto Ostria Gutiérrez Javier Paz Campero
<i>Haiti:</i>	Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse
<i>Cuba:</i>	José Manuel Cortina César Salaya Ramón Zaydin

COMMITTEE V: ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

8. Measures to promote closer economic relations among the American Republics:

- (a) Tariff truces and customs agreements;
- (b) Agreement on sanitary regulations affecting the interchange of animal and vegetable products;
- (c) Equality of opportunity in international trade;
- (d) Financial cooperation;
- (e) International aspects of the problems of immigration;
- (f) Promotion of travel;
- (g) Other measures.

9. Improvement of communication facilities:

- (a) Maritime communications;
- (b) The Pan American Highway;
- (c) Other measures.

<i>Chairman:</i>	Sumner Welles (<i>United States of America</i>)
<i>Vice Chairman:</i>	José Manuel Cortina (<i>Cuba</i>)
<i>Argentina:</i>	Roberto M. Ortiz Miguel Angel Cárcano Carlos Brebbia César Díaz Cisneros
<i>Paraguay:</i>	Miguel Angel Soler César Irala Ferreira
<i>Honduras:</i>	Antonio Bermúdez M. Julián López Pineda
<i>Costa Rica:</i>	Carlos Brenes
<i>Venezuela:</i>	Gustavo Herrera Alberto Zérega Fombona
<i>Peru:</i>	Carlos Concha Felipe Barrera Laos
<i>El Salvador:</i>	Maximiliano Patricio Brannon
<i>Mexico:</i>	Ramón Beteta Agustín Leñero Luis Garrido Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros
<i>Brazil:</i>	Helio Lobo Cyro de Freitas Valle
<i>Uruguay:</i>	Abalcázar García Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso Gervasio Posadas Belgrano
<i>Guatemala:</i>	José A. Medrano

<i>Nicaragua:</i>	Luis Manuel Debayle José María Moncada Modesto Valle
<i>Dominican Republic:</i>	Enrique Jiménez
<i>Colombia:</i>	Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez Miguel López Pumarejo Jorge Soto del Corral
<i>Panama:</i>	Harmodio Arias M. Eduardo Chiari
<i>United States of America:</i>	Adolf A. Berle, Jr. Alexander F. Whitney Michael Francis Doyle
<i>Chile:</i>	Desiderio García Ahumada Benjamín Cohen
<i>Ecuador:</i>	Humberto Albornoz José Gabriel Navarro
<i>Bolivia:</i>	Eduardo Díez de Medina Carlos Romero
<i>Haiti:</i>	Clément Magloire
<i>Cuba:</i>	Ramón Zaydín Rafael Santos Jiménez Carlos Márquez Sterling Calixto Whitmarsh César Salaya José Manuel Cortina

COMMITTEE VI: INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION

10. Measures to promote closer intellectual and cultural relations between the American Republics, and the development of the spirit of moral disarmament.

<i>Chairman:</i>	Tulio M. Cestero (<i>Dominican Republic</i>)
<i>Vice Chairman:</i>	Alberto Zérega Fombona (<i>Venezuela</i>)
<i>Argentina:</i>	Miguel Angel Cárcano José María Cantilo Daniel Antokoletz César Díaz Cisneros
<i>Paraguay:</i>	J. Isidro Ramírez Marco Antonio Laconich
<i>Honduras:</i>	Antonio Bermúdez M. Julián López Pineda
<i>Costa Rica:</i>	Manuel F. Jiménez Carlos Brenes

<i>Venezuela:</i>	Saverio Barbarito Luis Correa
<i>Peru:</i>	Felipe Barreda Laos Diómedes Arias Schreiber
<i>El Salvador:</i>	Joaquín Leiva
<i>Mexico:</i>	Alfonso Reyes Agustín Leñero Alejandro Gómez Maganda
<i>Brazil:</i>	Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller (Sra.) Vasco Leitao da Cunha Fernando Saboia de Medeiros
<i>Uruguay:</i>	Eugenio Martínez Thedy Felipe Ferreira José G. Antuña
<i>Guatemala:</i>	Alfonso Carrillo
<i>Nicaragua:</i>	Luis Manuel Debayle Modesto Valle José María Moncada
<i>Dominican Republic:</i>	Emilio García Godoy
<i>Colombia:</i>	Alberto Lleras Camargo Miguel López Pumarejo
<i>Panama:</i>	Julio J. Fábrega
<i>United States of America:</i>	Alexander W. Weddell Elise F. Musser (Mrs.) Alexander F. Whitney
<i>Chile:</i>	Ricardo Montaner Bello Benjamín Cohen
<i>Ecuador:</i>	Antonio Pons José Gabriel Navarro
<i>Bolivia:</i>	Eduardo Díez de Medina Alberto Cortadellas
<i>Haiti:</i>	Elie Lescot
<i>Cuba:</i>	Carlos Márquez Sterling José Manuel Carbonell Rafael Santos Jiménez Calixto Whitmarsh

ADDRESSES MADE AT THE OPENING SESSION

Appendix 7

ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY AGUSTÍN P. JUSTO, PRESIDENT OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC, DECEMBER 1, 1936

(Translation)

MR. PRESIDENT; BROTHERS OF AMERICA; LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Once more and under highly auspicious circumstances representatives of the nations of America, animated by high and noble purposes of solidarity, meet today in this great assembly enhanced by the presence of the illustrious statesman who sponsored it in the name of the great Republic of the North and who has just received the sanction of a historic election. It is a signal honor for the Argentine Republic to receive in its capital the distinguished representatives of its sister nations of the continent, animated by the same aspirations and united by similar sentiments. This is doubly true because the foreign relations of this Republic have always been motivated by high standards of international justice and by lofty principles of human brotherhood from which it has never departed, not even when fidelity to these principles meant a considerable diminution of its rich territorial heritage.

For this reason the desire for peace and concord, founded on justice, which it expresses today in welcoming the representatives of its sister nations, is only what it has practiced and put into effect since it became independent.

The spirit is uplifted and cheered by the meeting of this Conference under such favorable auspices, in circumstances in which, because of the general disorientation of the world, distrust and pessimism are increasing, while fear and suspicion, rancor and affronts raise political, economic, social, and moral barriers between nations, plunging humanity back to the age of collective lack of understanding and systematic isolation. In a world divided by hate and animosity, which open gulfs between countries, the attitude of the nations of this continent stands out in contrast, for they have come together in a cordial reunion the better to coordinate the life of the American community, in the simple concept of the good neighbor.

It can be stated, therefore, that if the initiative of the eminent President of the United States, who today honors this assembly with his presence, was a noble inspiration, the simple program that he proposed for its deliberations was even more inspired.

This initiative appears even more auspicious if we take into account the fact that, in contrast to what usually occurs when rivalries and antagonisms motivate similar meetings, the Conference inaugurated today, convoked for the benefit of all, is not directed against anybody. It is impossible to suppose that the work today beginning would fail to recognize the world interdependence which governs the economic and political life of these nations or to think that the action to be taken could alter age-old connections with countries of the Old World. This has invariably been Argentine doctrine, a doctrine also supported by one of the greatest of American statesmen.

It will be remembered that the Baron do Rio Branco, in opening the Third Pan American Conference at Rio de Janeiro, referred to the unhappy inheritance, from past epochs, of jealousy and distrust, the consequence of which was the supposition that every meeting of this kind was always directed against others. He then said: "It is therefore necessary to affirm that, formally or implicitly, all interests will be respected by us, that in the discussion of political and commercial subjects, submitted for consideration to the Conference, it is not our intention to work against anybody."

And after saying that the Conference would have in view only the closer association of the American nations, by which Europe and other countries would benefit, he added that every consideration made it advisable for the nations of the continent to continue to strengthen friendly relations and to increase commercial intercourse with an "inexhaustible world of men and prodigious fount of fertile energies like Europe". For that reason he expressed the hope that they would open to Europe—whose culture had molded the spirit of the American nations by transmitting to them its arts and sciences, its technical progress and industrial conquests—broader fields for the development of its activities in exchange for this inestimable moral and material gift.

This concept of that great statesman today gains new meaning and increases the prestige of these congresses, whose labors, without excluding any one, include all nations in their benefits.

Hence the suggestion for this Conference, so opportune and so important for the maintenance of peace, has filled all the nations of the continent with joy. They are convinced that the Conference opening today under such promising auspices, and in the presence of such distinguished representatives of America as are gathered in this hall, will not only be of incalculable benefit to the states forming the international American community but also have even more far-reaching effects and offer a hope of better days for all mankind, whose spirit is afflicted by the dark, disturbing outlook of the present.

These young countries do not know the profound antagonisms which in the Old World give rise to grave problems and are permanent factors of discord. And by following now the suggestion for

strengthening even further the bonds created by common origin, by like democratic traditions, and by related spiritual needs, they will demonstrate to the world that nations, like individuals, are not condemned by inexorable law to live in perpetual hostility. They can form among themselves communities united by the desire for mutual well-being in which each state is recognized as having the right of full development in perfect accord with reciprocal interests.

Everything in the Americas favors the fruition of this ideal. This continent is the land of liberty, as the constitutions of all the nations of this American sisterhood affirm. Liberty is one of the most solid foundations of peace. May we always breathe the air of liberty in America—the land of promise! Under democracy man is dignified by the spirit of liberty. Liberty of thought and conscience permits him to practice his own faith and believe and feel according to his own free will, draws him nearer to God, and, filling him with optimism, kindness, and confidence, makes him immune to cruel hate and futile rancor.

The American countries, whatever their territorial expanse may be, are nations with a significance of their own. They have increasing weight in the concert of nations and form centers of civilization and culture, which influence or will influence the general evolution of the world. When these young nations, rich in natural resources, offer the rest of the countries an example of lofty and dispassionate understanding of their mutual interests, this example may have the virtue of correcting many mistaken policies and soothing men's minds by guiding them along the road of reflection and prudence. For this reason the decisions which are reached at this Conference are certain to contribute toward improving the distressing conditions against which the world is struggling.

But even though that should not be the case, we should not be disheartened. We should not forget that the greatest conquests of humanity have been the results of innumerable efforts, and that just as nothing is ever lost in the material world, so these generous dreams which honor the human spirit will never be lost. Moreover, experience has shown that if yesterday's dream is today's reality, we may confidently expect that today's dream will be the beautiful reality of tomorrow.

It seems needless to stress the point that in carrying out these noble aims, there is no intention of creating antagonistic continental groups. Our sole desire is to find more perfect formulas for the pacific solution of international conflicts which may be worthy of the adherence of all other countries.

As President Roosevelt said in his invitation to this Conference, it is very necessary to consider the means of reinforcing, from the Americas, the peace-making activities of the League of Nations, of which

most countries here represented are members. On the day that the instruments of American origin are successfully coordinated with the League of Nations Covenant and with other treaties for the confirmation of law, justice, equity, and morality in relations between states, a decisive step will have been taken on the road toward universal peace.

May I now be permitted to address myself from this rostrum to my nation, which has done me the honor of entrusting to me the guidance of its destinies, and to emphasize that we are about to realize those ideals to which we have aspired since the dawn of our emancipation; that the wishes of our forefathers and the highest aspirations of those who gave us a country and liberty have been fulfilled; that my Government has created nothing new in the way of international policy, but has made every endeavor to follow the road laid out by our great men since the beginning of our independence. And permit me to remind them at the same time that in the life of nations there is not a single event that is not the inevitable result of great and slow-moving combinations which cannot be frustrated when the moment of their consummation arrives.

I am in complete agreement with the suggestion of President Roosevelt. I believe that the atmosphere has been prepared for its triumph, and therefore I am absolutely confident as to the results of this Conference. That is to say, I have faith in this "meeting of friends". Sacrifices are certain to be very few, because good-will prevails, but the resulting benefits will unquestionably be of great value.

In 1817, when the general constituent congress of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata notified the nations of the world of the motives leading this country to declare its independence, it said: "At the same time that we point out the reasons that have prompted us to take this step, we have the honor of expressing our intention of living in peace with every one."

One hundred and twenty years after that declaration I, as President of Argentina, have the honor of reminding you that my country, honoring the solemn vow of the founders of our nation, has complied with their mandate, and made every possible effort always to live, let live, and help all nations of the world to live, in peace.

With this conviction, which interprets the deepest feeling of the Argentine nation, I welcome the distinguished representatives of the sister countries of America and hereby open this Conference. Invoking Divine protection, I offer my best wishes that the results of the Conference, which will be for the good of the continent if they are worthy of the hopes of the illustrious statesman who first suggested this gathering, may also redound to the benefit of all mankind, whose spirit is bowed down by the magnitude of the catastrophes threatening it at this tragic moment.

Appendix 8

ADDRESS OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE, DECEMBER 1, 1936

MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN FAMILY OF NATIONS:

On the happy occasion of the convening of this Conference, I address you thus, because members of a family need no introduction or formalities when, in pursuance of excellent custom, they meet together for their common good.

As a family we appreciate the hospitality of our host, President Justo, and the Government and people of Argentina; and all of us are happy that to our friend Dr. Saavedra Lamas has come the well-deserved award of the Nobel Prize for great service in the cause of world peace.

Three years ago the American family met in nearby Montevideo, the great capital of the Republic of Uruguay. They were dark days. A shattering depression, unparalleled in its intensity, held us, with the rest of the world, in its grip. And in our own hemisphere a tragic war was raging between two of our sister Republics.

Yet, at that conference there was born not only hope for our common future but a greater measure of mutual trust between the American democracies than had ever existed before. In this Western Hemisphere the night of fear has been dispelled. Many of the intolerable burdens of economic depression have been lightened and, due in no small part to our common efforts, every nation of this hemisphere is today at peace with its neighbors.

This is no conference to form alliances, to divide the spoils of war, to partition countries, to deal with human beings as though they were pawns in a game of chance. Our purpose, under happy auspices, is to assure the continuance of the blessings of peace.

Three years ago, recognizing that a crisis was being thrust upon the New World, with splendid unanimity our twenty-one Republics set an example to the whole world by proclaiming a new spirit, a new day, in the affairs of this hemisphere.

While the succeeding period has justified in full measure all that was said and done at Montevideo, it has unfortunately emphasized the seriousness of threats to peace among other nations. Events elsewhere have served only to strengthen our horror of war and all that war means. The men, women, and children of the Americas know that warfare in this day and age means more than the mere clash of armies: they see the destruction of cities and of farms; they foresee that children and grandchildren, if they survive, will stagger for long years not only under the burden of poverty but also

amid the threat of broken society and the destruction of constitutional government.

I am profoundly convinced that the plain people everywhere in the civilized world today wish to live in peace one with another. And still leaders and governments resort to war. Truly, if the genius of mankind that has invented the weapons of death cannot discover the means of preserving peace, civilization as we know it lives in an evil day.

But we cannot now, especially in view of our common purpose, accept any defeatist attitude. We have learned by hard experience that peace is not to be had for the mere asking; that peace, like other great privileges, can be obtained only by hard and painstaking effort. We are here to dedicate ourselves and our countries to that work.

You who assemble today carry with you in your deliberations the hopes of millions of human beings in other less-fortunate lands. Beyond the ocean we see continents rent asunder by old hatreds and new fanaticisms. We hear the demand that injustice and inequality be corrected by resorting to the sword and not by resorting to reason and peaceful justice. We hear the cry that new markets can be achieved only through conquest. We read that the sanctity of treaties between nations is disregarded.

We know, too, that vast armaments are rising on every side and that the work of creating them employs men and women by the millions. It is natural, however, for us to conclude that such employment is false employment, that it builds no permanent structures and creates no consumers' goods for the maintenance of a lasting prosperity. We know that nations guilty of these follies inevitably face the day either when their weapons of destruction must be used against their neighbors or when an unsound economy, like a house of cards, will fall apart.

In either case, even though the Americas become involved in no war, we must suffer too. The madness of a great war in other parts of the world would affect us and threaten our good in a hundred ways. And the economic collapse of any nation or nations must of necessity harm our own prosperity.

Can we, the Republics of the New World, help the Old World to avert the catastrophe which impends? Yes; I am confident that we can.

First, it is our duty by every honorable means to prevent any future war among ourselves. This can best be done through the strengthening of the processes of constitutional democratic government—to make these processes conform to the modern need for unity and efficiency and, at the same time, preserve the individual liberties of our citizens. By so doing, the people of our nations, unlike the

people of many nations who live under other forms of government, can and will insist on their intention to live in peace. Thus will democratic government be justified throughout the world.

In this determination to live at peace among ourselves we in the Americas make it at the same time clear that we stand shoulder to shoulder in our final determination that others who, driven by war madness or land hunger, might seek to commit acts of aggression against us, will find a hemisphere wholly prepared to consult together for our mutual safety and our mutual good. I repeat what I said in speaking before the Congress and the Supreme Court of Brazil: "Each one of us has learned the glories of independence. Let each one of us learn the glories of interdependence."

Secondly, and in addition to the perfecting of the mechanisms of peace, we can strive even more strongly than in the past to prevent the creation of those conditions which give rise to war. Lack of social or political justice within the borders of any nation is always cause for concern. Through democratic processes we can strive to achieve for the Americas the highest possible standard of living conditions for all our people. Men and women blessed with political freedom, willing to work and able to find work, rich enough to maintain their families and to educate their children, contented with their lot in life and on terms of friendship with their neighbors will defend themselves to the utmost but will never consent to take up arms for a war of conquest.

Interwoven with these problems is the further self-evident fact that the welfare and prosperity of each of our nations depend in large part on the benefits derived from commerce among ourselves and with other nations, for our present civilization rests on the basis of an international exchange of commodities. Every nation of the world has felt the evil effects of recent efforts to erect trade barriers of every known kind. Every individual citizen has suffered from them. It is no accident that the nations which have carried this process farthest are those which proclaim most loudly that they require war as an instrument of their policy. It is no accident that attempts to be self-sufficient have led to falling standards for their people and to ever-increasing loss of the democratic ideals in a mad race to pile armament on armament. It is no accident that because of these suicidal policies and the suffering attending them many of their people have come to believe with despair that the price of war seems less than the price of peace.

This state of affairs we must refuse to accept with every instinct of defense, with every exhortation of enthusiastic hope, with every use of mind and skill.

I cannot refrain here from reiterating my gratification that in this, as in so many other achievements, the American Republics have given

a salutary example to the world. The resolution adopted at the Inter-American Conference at Montevideo endorsing the principles of liberal trade policies has shown forth like a beacon in the storm of economic madness which has been sweeping over the entire world during these later years. Truly, if the principles there embodied find still wider application in your deliberations, it will be a notable contribution to the cause of peace. For my own part I have done all in my power to sustain the consistent efforts of my Secretary of State in negotiating agreements for reciprocal trade, and even though the individual results may seem small, the total of them is significant. These policies in recent weeks have received the approval of the people of the United States, and they have, I am sure, the sympathy of the other nations here assembled.

There are many other causes for war—among them, long-festered feuds, unsettled frontiers, territorial rivalries. But these sources of danger which still exist in the Americas, I am thankful to say, are not only few in number but already on the way to peaceful adjudication. While the settlement of such controversies may necessarily involve adjustments at home or in our relations with our neighbors which may appear to involve material sacrifice, let no man or woman forget that there is no profit in war. Sacrifices in the cause of peace are infinitesimal compared with the holocaust of war.

Peace comes from the spirit and must be grounded in faith. In seeking peace, perhaps we can best begin by proudly affirming the faith of the Americas: the faith in freedom and its fulfillment, which has proved a mighty fortress beyond reach of successful attack in half the world.

That faith arises from a common hope and a common design given us by our fathers in differing form but with a single aim: freedom and security of the individual, which has become the foundation of our peace.

If, then, by making war in our midst impossible, and if within ourselves and among ourselves we can give greater freedom and fulfillment to the individual lives of our citizens, the democratic form of representative government will have justified the high hopes of the liberating fathers. Democracy is still the hope of the world. If we in our generation can continue its successful applications in the Americas, it will spread and supersede other methods by which men are governed and which seem to most of us to run counter to our ideals of human liberty and human progress.

Three centuries of history sowed the seeds which grew into our nations; the fourth century saw those nations become equal and free and brought us to a common system of constitutional government; the fifth century is giving to us a common meeting ground of mutual help and understanding. Our hemisphere has at last come of age.

We are here assembled to show its unity to the world. We took from our ancestors a great dream. We here offer it back as a great unified reality.

Finally, in expressing our faith of the Western World, let us affirm:

That we maintain and defend the democratic form of constitutional representative government.

That through such government we can more greatly provide a wider distribution of culture, of education, of thought, and of free expression.

That through it we can obtain a greater security of life for our citizens and a more equal opportunity for them to prosper.

That through it we can best foster commerce and the exchange of art and science between nations.

That through it we can avoid the rivalry of armaments, avert hatreds, and encourage good will and true justice.

That through it we offer hope for peace and a more abundant life to the peoples of the whole world.

But this faith of the Western World will not be complete if we fail to affirm our faith in God. In the whole history of mankind, far back into the dim past before man knew how to record thoughts or events, the human race has been distinguished from other forms of life by the existence, the fact, of religion. Periodic attempts to deny God have always come and will always come to naught.

In the constitution and in the practice of our nations is the right of freedom of religion. But this ideal, these words, presuppose a belief and a trust in God.

The faith of the Americas, therefore, lies in the spirit. The system, the sisterhood, of the Americas, is impregnable so long as her nations maintain that spirit.

In that faith and spirit we will have peace over the Western World. In that faith and spirit we will all watch and guard our hemisphere. In that faith and spirit may we also, with God's help, offer hope to our brethren overseas.

ADDRESSES MADE BY SECRETARY HULL AS CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION

Appendix 9

ADDRESS OF SECRETARY HULL AT THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE, DECEMBER 5, 1936

The primary purpose of this Conference is to banish war from the Western Hemisphere. In its earnest pursuit of this great undertaking it is necessary at the outset to visualize numerous dangerous conditions and practices in general international affairs to the extent that they bear upon and affect the work of this Conference. It is manifest that every country today is faced with a supreme alternative. Each must play its part in determining whether the world will slip backward toward war and savagery, or whether it can maintain and will advance the level of civilization and peace. None can escape its responsibility.

The twenty-one American republics cannot remain unconcerned by the grave and threatening conditions in many parts of the world. Our convocation here in Buenos Aires utters this hemisphere's common voice of its interest in, nay, its intense concern over, the determination of this momentous question. The repercussions of wars and preparations for wars have been so universally disastrous that it is now as plain as mathematical truth that each nation in any part of the world is concerned in peace in every part of the world. The nations of all the Americas, through their chosen delegates, have assembled to make careful survey and analysis of all aspects of their responsibilities; to take account of their common duties; and to plan accordingly for the safety and welfare of their peoples.

The Western Hemisphere must now face squarely certain hard realities. For the purpose of our undertaking, we must frankly recognize that for some time the forces of militarism have been in the ascendant in a large part of the world; those of peace have been correspondingly on the decline. We should be lacking in common sense if we ignored the plain fact that the effects of these forces will unavoidably have direct impact upon all of us. We should be lacking in ordinary caution if we fail to counsel together for our common safety and welfare.

It is bad enough when many statesmen and peoples close their minds and memories to the awful lesson taught by the millions of

soldiers sacrificed in the World War; the shattered cities, the desolated fields, and all the other material, moral, and spiritual ravages of that conflict. Still worse, that war has brought in its train wounds to man's heart and spirit, national hatreds and fears, the dislocation or destruction of indispensable political and governmental structures, and the collapse or cool abandonment of former high standards of national conduct. The supreme tragedy is completed by the break-down of the commerce of mind and culture, the attempt to isolate the nations of the earth into sealed compartments, all of which have made war a burden not to be endured by mankind.

The delegates of the American nations, meeting here in the face of these grave and threatening world conditions, must realize that mere words will not suffice. From every wise and practical viewpoint, concrete peace planning, peace views, and peace objectives are imperative. We must quicken our words and our hopes into a specific, embracing program to maintain peace. Such a program, adequately implemented, should constitute an armory of peace. It should comprise a structure affording all practical means for safeguarding peace. At a time when many other governments or peoples fail or fear to proclaim and embrace a broad or definite peace plan or movement, while their statesmen are shouting threats of war, it is all the more necessary that we of the Americas must cry out for peace, keep alive the spirit of peace, live by the rules of peace, and forthwith perfect the machinery for its maintenance. Should we fail to make this outstanding contribution, it would be a practical desertion of the cause of peace and a tragic blow to the hopes of humanity.

In meeting this problem, the American republics are in a peculiarly advantageous situation. There are among us no radical differences, no profound mistrusts or deep hatreds. On the contrary we are inspired by the impulse to be constant friends and the determination to be peaceful neighbors.

We recognize the right of all nations to handle their affairs in any way they choose, and this quite irrespective of the fact that their way may be different from our way or even repugnant to our ideas. But we cannot fail to take cognizance of the international aspect of their policies when and to the extent that they may react upon us. I, myself, am unalterably of the view that a policy leading to war may react upon us. In the face of any situation directly leading to war, can we therefore be other than apprehensive?

In sustaining the firm determination that peace must be maintained and that any country whose policies make war likely is threatening injury to all, I believe that the nations of this hemisphere would find themselves in accord with governments elsewhere. I strongly entertain the hope that a united group of American nations may take common action at this Conference further to assure peace among

themselves and define their attitude toward war; and that this action may not only demonstrate the happy position of the New World, but, though designed primarily for our own benefit, embody policies of world application and correspond to the views and interests of nations outside this hemisphere.

There is no need for war. There is a practical alternative policy at hand, complete and adequate. It is no exclusive policy aimed at the safety or supremacy of a few, leaving others to struggle with distressful situations. It demands no sacrifices comparable to the advantages which will result to each nation and to each individual.

In these circumstances the representatives of the twenty-one American republics should frankly call the attention of the people of this hemisphere to the possibilities of danger to their future peace and progress and at the same time set forth the numerous steps that can well be undertaken as the most effective means of improving and safeguarding the conditions of permanent peace.

While carefully avoiding any political entanglements, my government strives at all times to cooperate with other nations to every practical extent in support of peace objectives, including reduction or limitation of armaments, the control of traffic in arms, taking the profits out of war, and the restoration of fair and friendly economic relationships. We reject war as a method of settling international disputes and favor such methods as conference, conciliation, and arbitration.

Peace can be partially safeguarded through international agreements. Such agreements, however, must reflect the utmost good faith; this alone can be the guaranty of their significance and usefulness. Contemporary events clearly show that, where mutual trust, good-will, and sincerity of purpose are lacking, pacts or agreements fail; and the world is seized by fear and left to the mercy of the wreckers.

The Conference has the duty of considering all peace proposals of merit. Let me enumerate and briefly discuss eight separate and vitally important principles and proposals for a comprehensive peace program and peace structure. They are not designed to be all-inclusive. In considering them we should be guided by the knowledge that other forces and agencies of peace exist besides those made and to be made on our continents; what we do contemplates no conflict with sincere efforts the world over.

First. I would emphasize the local and unilateral responsibility of each nation carefully to educate and organize its people in opposition to war and its underlying causes. Support must be given to peace, to the most effective policies for its preservation; and, finally, each nation must maintain conditions within its own borders which will permit it to adopt national policies that can be peacefully pursued.

More than any other factor, a thoroughly informed and alert public opinion in each country as to the suitable and desirable relationships with other nations and the principles underlying them, enables a government in time of crisis to act promptly and effectively for peace.

The forces of peace everywhere are entitled to function both through governments and through public opinion. The peoples of the world would be far wiser if they expended more of their hard-earned money in organizing the forces of peace and fewer of the present five billion dollars in educating and training their military forces.

Since the time when Thomas Jefferson insisted upon a "decent respect to the opinions of mankind", public opinion has controlled foreign policy in all democracies. It is, therefore, all-important that every platform, every pulpit, and every forum should become constant and active agencies in the great work of education and organization. The limited extent of such highly organized and intelligent public opinion in support of peace is by far the largest draw-back to any plan to prevent war. Truly the first step is that each nation must thus make itself safe for peace. This, too, develops a common will for freedom, the soil from which peace springs.

People everywhere should be made to know of the peace mechanisms. Even more, there should be brought home to them the knowledge that trade, commerce, finance, debts, communications, have a bearing on peace. The workman at his bench, the farmer on his land, the shopkeeper by his shelves, the clerk at his books, the laborer in factory, plantation, mine, or construction camp, must realize that his work is the work of peace; that to interrupt it for ends of national or personal rapacity is to drive him toward quick death by bayonets, or to slower but not less grievous suffering through economic distress.

In all our countries we have scholars who can demonstrate these facts; let them not be silent. Our churches have direct contact with all groups; may they remember that the peacemakers are the children of God. We have artists and poets who can distil their needed knowledge into trenchant phrase and line; they have work to do. Our great journals on both continents cover the world. Our women are awake; our youth sentient; our clubs and organizations make opinion everywhere. There is a strength here available greater than that of armies. We have but to ask its aid; it will be swift to answer, not only here but in continents beyond the seas.

Second. Indispensable in their influence for peace and well-being are frequent conferences between representatives of the nations and intercourse between their peoples. Collaboration and the exchange of views, ideas, and information are the most effective means of establishing understanding, friendship, and trust. I would again emphasize that any written pacts or agreements not based upon such relationships as these too often exist on paper only. Development

of the atmosphere of peace, understanding, and good-will during our sessions here will alone constitute a vast accomplishment.

Third. Any complete program would include safeguarding the nations of this hemisphere from using force, one against the other, through the consummation of all of the five well-known peace agreements, produced in chief part by previous conferences, as well as through the Draft Convention Coordinating the Existing Treaties between the American States and Extending Them in Certain Respects, which the delegation of the United States is presenting for the consideration of this Conference.

In these, virtually all of the essentials of adequate machinery are present. If their operation is somewhat implemented by provisions in the draft proposal I have just mentioned to be considered by this Conference, such machinery would be complete.

The first of these is the Treaty to Avoid and Prevent Conflicts between the American States, which was signed in Santiago in 1923.

The second is the Treaty for the Renunciation of War, known as the Kellogg-Briand pact, or the Pact of Paris, signed at Paris in 1928.

The third is the General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation, signed at Washington in 1929.

The fourth is the General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration, signed at Washington in 1929.

The fifth is the Anti-War Treaty of Non-Aggression and Conciliation, signed at Rio de Janeiro in 1933.

While the Montevideo Conference in 1933 went on record in favor of the valid execution of these five agreements by each of the twenty-one governments represented, several have not yet completed this ratification. These agreements provide a many-sided and flexible functioning machinery for the adjustment of difficulties that may arise in this hemisphere. A government could not give more tangible proof of its readiness to translate into practicable form its desire to promote and to maintain peace. Swift action by all of us to ratify these agreements should be the natural assertion of our intentions.

Fourth. If war should occur, any peace program must provide for the problem then presented. For the belligerent, there is the ruin and suffering of war. For the neutrals, there is the task of remaining neutral, of not being too disturbed in their own affairs, of not having their own peace imperiled, of working in common to restrict the war and bring it to an end. Can we in this Conference work out for ourselves a common line of policy that might be pursued during a period of neutrality? Some first broad approaches toward that end are, I think, possible. If these are to be sound they must be inspired by the determination to stay at peace. When interests are challenged, when minds are stirred, when entry into war in some particular juncture may appear to offer to some country the chance of national

advantage, then determination is needed to retain neutrality. The maintenance of neutrality is an achievement to be attained more readily if undertaken jointly. Such agreement would be a tremendous safeguard for each of us. It might be a powerful means of ending war.

When we have done all that seems to be possible in extending and perfecting an integrated and permanent mechanism for preserving peaceful relations among ourselves, and when we have placed in operation these various instruments, the twenty-one republics of this hemisphere will have given overt expression to the most determined will for peace to be found in the world today. In the face of a weakening elsewhere in the world of reliance on and observance of international agreements, we shall have proclaimed our firm intention that these peaceful instruments shall be the foundation of relations between nations throughout this whole region.

If we can endow peace with certainty, if we can make it glow in our part of the world, then we may indulge the hope that our example will not be in vain.

Fifth. The peoples of this region have a further opportunity. They must make headway with a liberal policy of commerce, which would lower excessive barriers to trade and lessen injurious discriminations as between the trade of different countries. This means the substitution of a policy of economic benefit, good-will, and fair-dealing for one stimulated by greedy and short-sighted calculations of momentary advantage in an impractical isolation. It would have most beneficial effects, both direct and indirect, upon political difficulties and antagonisms.

A thriving international commerce, well-adjusted to the resources and talents of each country, brings benefit to all. It keeps men employed, active, and usefully supplying the wants of others. It leads each country to look upon others as helpful counterparts to itself rather than as antagonists. It opens up to each country, to the extent mutually profitable and desirable, the resources and the organized productive power of other countries; by its benefits small nations with limited territory or resources can have a varied, secure, and prosperous life; it can bring improvement to those who feel their toil too hard and their reward too meager.

Prosperity and peace are not separate entities. To promote one is to promote the other. The economic well-being of peoples is the greatest single protection against civil strife, large armaments, war. Economic isolation and military force go hand in hand; when nations cannot get what they need by the normal processes of trade, they will continue to resort to the use of force. A people employed and in a state of reasonable comfort is not a people among whom class struggles, militarism, and war can thrive. But a people driven to desperation by want and misery is at all times a threat to peace, their conditions an invitation to disorder and chaos, both internal and external.

The intervening years have given added significance to the economic program adopted at the Conference at Montevideo three years ago. That program is today the greatest potential force both for peace and prosperity. Our present Conference should reaffirm and secure action upon this program of economic intelligence.

One feature of the resolutions adopted at Montevideo was the support for the principle of equality of treatment as the basis of acceptable commercial policy. This rule has been followed in a number of commercial agreements that have already been concluded between American nations. Their benefits are already becoming manifest and will continue to grow. We cannot blind ourselves to the fact, however, that at the same time there has taken place even among the American nations a growth in the restrictions upon trade and an extension of discriminatory practices; these have tended to counteract the advantages resulting from the liberalizing terms embodied in other agreements.

I would urge again the wisdom of avoiding discrimination in our commercial policy. The practice of discrimination prevents trade from following the lines which would produce the greatest economic benefits; it inevitably, in the long run, provokes retaliation from those who suffer from discrimination, makes it more difficult for countries eager to pursue a liberal trade policy to secure the fair gains from this policy, and thereby checks the lowering of restrictions. It will not serve our broad and deep aims; on the contrary, if steadily extended, it will lead us into new controversies and difficulties. The Montevideo program offers the only alternative to the present short-sighted, war-breeding bilateral bargaining method of trade, to the exclusion of triangular and multilateral trade, which is being employed in many parts of the world with sterile results.

The ends we seek can best be achieved by the concurrent or concerted action of many countries. Each can exert itself steadfastly amidst the particular circumstances of its economic situation to make its contribution toward the rebuilding of trade. Each can grant new opportunities to others as it receives new opportunities for itself. All are called upon to share in the concurrent or concerted action which is required. Any country which seeks the benefits of the program while avoiding its responsibilities, will in time shut itself off from the benefits. Any country which is tempted or forced by some special calculation to depart from these lines of action and which conveys and seeks special advantage jeopardizes the progress and, perhaps, the very existence of the program. Faithful dealing, without favor, between equal partners will be required to readjust trade along the lines of growth, which is our goal.

Sixth. The Conference must recognize the all-important principle of practical international cooperation to restore many indispensable

relationships between nations, for international relationships, in many vital respects, are at a low ebb. The entire international order is severely dislocated. Chaotic conditions in the relations between nations have appeared. Human progress already has slowed down.

Nations in recent years have sought to live a hermit existence by isolating themselves from each other in suspicion and fear. The inevitable result is not unlike that experienced by a community where individuals undertake to live a hermit existence, with the resultant decline and decay of the spiritual, the moral, the educational, and the material benefits and blessings which spring from community organization and effort. The difference, when nations live apart, is that the entire human race in countless instances suffers irreparable injury—political, moral, material, spiritual, and social. Today, for illustration, through lack of comprehension, understanding, and confidence, we see many nations exhausting their material substance and the vitality of their people by piling up huge armaments. We behold others, in their attempted isolation, becoming more indifferent and less considerate toward the rights, privileges, and honest opinions of others. National character and conduct are threatened with utter demoralization. At no distant time we shall see a state of moral and spiritual isolation, bringing with it the condemnation of the world, covering great parts of the earth, unless peoples halt and turn toward a sane course.

Seventh. International law has been in large measure flouted. It should be reestablished, revitalized, and strengthened by general demand. International law protects the peace and security of nations and so safeguards them against maintaining great armaments and wasting their substance in continual readiness for war. Founded upon justice and humanity, the great principles of international law are the source and fountain of the equality, the security, and the very existence of nations. Armies and navies are no permanent substitute. Abandonment of the rule of law would not only leave small or unarmed states at the mercy of the reckless and powerful but would hopelessly undermine all international order. It is inconceivable that the civilized nations would long delay a supreme effort to reestablish that rule of law.

Eighth. Observance of understandings, agreements, and treaties between nations constitutes the foundation of international order. May I say here that this is not a time for crimination or recrimination, nor is such in my mind during this discussion. There must be the fullest patience and forbearance, one country with another, as the nations endeavor to climb back to that high ground of wholesome and elevating relationship of loyalty to the given word, of faithful fair-dealing.

International agreements have lost their force and reliability as a basis of relations between nations. This extremely ominous and fateful development constitutes the most dangerous single phenomenon in the world of today; not international law merely, but that which is higher—moral law—and the whole integrity and honor of governments are in danger of being ruthlessly trampled upon. There has been a failure of the spirit. There is no task more urgent than that of remaking the basis of trusted agreement between nations. They must ardently seek the terms of new agreements and stand behind them with unfailing will. The vitality of international agreements must be restored.

If the solemn rights and obligations between nations are to be treated lightly or brushed aside, the nations of the world will head straight toward international anarchy and chaos. And soon, too, the citizen begins to lower his individual standards of personal, moral, and business conduct to those of his government. Trust in each nation's honor and faith in its given word must be restored by the concerted resolve of all governments.

It is to the interest of everyone that there be an end of treaties broken by arbitrary unilateral action. Peaceful procedure, agreements between the signatories, and mutual understanding must be restored as the means of modifying or ending international agreements.

In the accomplishment of the high aims and purposes of this eight-fold program, the people of every nation have an equal interest. We of this hemisphere have reason to hope that these great objectives may receive the support of all peoples. If peace and progress are to be either maintained or advanced, the time is overripe for renewed effort on each nation's part. There can be no delay. Through past centuries, the human race fought its way up from the low level of barbarism and war to that of civilization and peace. This accomplishment has only been partial, and it may well be but temporary.

It would be a frightful commentary on the human race if, with the awful lesson of its disastrous experience, responsible and civilized governments should now fail.

The nations of this continent should omit no word or act in their attempt to meet the dangerous conditions which endanger peace. Let our actions here at Buenos Aires constitute the most potent possible appeal to peacemakers and warmakers throughout the world.

So only does civilization become real. So only can we rightly ask that universal support which entitles governments to speak for their peoples to the world, not with the voice of propaganda but with that of truth. Having affirmed our faith, we should be remiss if we were to leave anything undone which will tend to assure our peace here and make us powerful for peace elsewhere. In a very real sense, let this continent set the high example of championing the forces of peace,

Appendix 10

REMARKS OF SECRETARY HULL BEFORE COMMITTEE I
DECEMBER 12, 1936

It is with proud satisfaction, which I have no disposition to conceal, that I rise in this hour of your triumph to congratulate the president of the committee, whose eloquent address we have just heard and whose distinguished services to the work we are carrying forward are well known. I congratulate also in this happy hour the President of the Conference, Dr. Saavedra Lamas, who so wisely presides over the deliberations of this peace gathering. I desire also to associate myself with every member of each of the delegations composing this Conference in extending my congratulations upon the results accomplished this day.

We came to Buenos Aires under adverse circumstances. Some were discouraged and pessimistic, with little hope of useful accomplishment. We came, however, determined to take the necessary steps to reenforce the machinery of peace; and we were imbued with the hope that we might, by our efforts, banish war permanently from our continent. Today we may congratulate ourselves on what we have jointly accomplished up to the present time. I feel that we have more than satisfied the reasonable expectations of the leaders and lovers of peace throughout our twenty-one republics.

We came to Buenos Aires with a tremendous responsibility upon our shoulders. We began our deliberations at the most serious moment in which a Pan American conference has ever been convened. We had before us a world torn by the most chaotic conditions that the human mind can imagine, a world threatened by war and despairing of peace. I believe that the result of our common deliberations will be regarded with admiration and gratitude by the supporters and lovers of peace throughout the world.

The world faces the need of a new order, and, in my judgment, the program which we have here proposed to develop will in time form a substantial part of the foundations upon which that new order will be built.

I am happy to realize that, among the two hundred delegates making up this Conference, there are no men of small or mean stature. We have discovered that one and all of our colleagues making up this Conference have come to Buenos Aires with a sense of the strictest self-dedication to the cause of duty and the cause of peace. They have come with the firm purpose of rising to the tremendous and lasting responsibilities which rest upon every one of us. As the logical consequence of such a point of view, if any one of us has felt tempted to stoop to small things, or in even the least matter to be contentious or obstructive or narrowly to limit his sense of duty, he has utterly abandoned such thoughts and has risen to that high

ground on which the noble sentiments of patriotism and the vision of statesmanship characterize our work.

We are now gathering the harvest of the spirit of unity and of harmony which reigns among us. We have the firm decision to face our heavy responsibilities with determination and courage. May I express my pride in every one of you. And may I tell you that I shall cherish so long as I live, as a precious treasure, the memory of having enjoyed the high privilege of being in close personal touch with these two hundred chosen representatives who have come here to Buenos Aires imbued with the determination to fulfil a solemn mission and who, in discharging it, have reached heights unsurpassed by anything that the most ardent promoter of peace in any country of the world could have expected or could have hoped.

I know, as you all know, that what has been done up to this time gives us the sure confidence that our work will continue and that we shall, here in Buenos Aires, offer an outstanding example of a re-enforcement of the instruments of peace and a reawakening of the spirit of peace, with the result that the hearts of the promoters of peace and the lovers of peace throughout the world will be strengthened and encouraged.

I am sure that what we have here accomplished will be received with deep disgust by the promoters of war, by the creators of discord, and by all those who have failed to understand the meaning of the policy and practice of the good neighbor.

I am sure that the high example that we are here giving to the world will mark a new chapter in the annals of peace, not only in this, our continent, but throughout the world.

In arising to speak to this gathering, I have no other purpose than to express to the statesmen here gathered my sentiments of appreciation and personal rejoicing in the marvelous spirit of harmony and patriotism which has prevailed in the deliberations of this Conference. In the light of this state of mind, may I say to each and every one of you delegates here assembled that where you lead, I will follow.

Appendix 11

ADDRESS OF SECRETARY HULL AT THE CLOSING SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE, DECEMBER 23, 1936*

Mr. President and Members of the Conference: Today this Conference for the Maintenance of Peace holds its last session. Before

* Owing to illness, Secretary Hull was unable to attend this session of the Conference and his address was read by the Honorable Sumner Welles, Assistant Secretary of State of the United States and delegate of the United States to the

it adjourns let me review briefly the major events and actions. One point stands out boldly. No such conference could have had any measure of real success had it not been approached in the spirit with which each of the twenty-one delegations has approached this one—a spirit of good-will and common determination to consolidate the pattern of peace.

The very fact of the Conference itself should offer to other quarters of the world an impressive demonstration of the value of concert and cooperation. Whenever twenty-one nations can foregather in such a spirit and for such purposes, whenever they can act together harmoniously in the case of peace, all other nations should find profit in their example.

Let me here pay tribute to the Argentine nation whose hospitality we have so greatly enjoyed and to the President of the Argentine Republic, His Excellency Agustín P. Justo, whose leadership has lent assurance to our work and whose support of our undertakings has given us the courage to go forward; and to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic, His Excellency Dr. Carlos Saavedra Lamas, Chairman of the Conference, who has so ably presided over its sessions; and to the zeal, intelligence, and patriotism with which the delegations have here joined one another in the actions taken. With clear vision and high purpose this illustrious body of men and women has cooperated nobly in the results we have reached. As one of your coworkers, I extend to each and every one of you my appreciation, admiration, and respect for your splendid achievements.

I am content for others to judge the accomplishments of the Conference. I feel, however, that they should prove of historic significance. They are not mere aspirations or pious hopes. They have practical meaning and vital force.

To a fuller extent than ever before in a meeting of the American republics, the work of conference and collaboration has been carried on in a spirit of friendly understanding and mutual confidence. Seldom has there been a meeting in which debate has been more marked by mutual consideration, or discussion more concerned with agreement rather than divergence, or in which the delegates have subordinated their individual aims and desires for the sake of the common objective they have had before them. If I am correctly informed, for the first time in the history of inter-American conferences projects of fundamental import have been presented by the unanimous action of all the delegations. If this procedure has been adopted, it has been because all of us have felt that only by unanimity could we succeed in assuring ourselves of the complete fulfilment of that which we have sought to attain.

The Conference has widened the range of cooperation by the American republics both for the maintenance of peace and for the promotion

of their common welfare. The program here adopted is broader and more basic than ever before. New foundations have been laid.

In a broad way the program contemplates the mobilization of the public opinion of all the peoples of this hemisphere in the effort to bring their combined moral influence to bear upon the solution of controversies, upon the defense of their common interest in the peace of the continent, and upon the maintenance of the fundamental principles of international law upon which the stability of the international order is dependent. We believe this public opinion to be more than a passive element in the life of our peoples; we believe it to be a powerful force which must be brought to bear upon our common problems and which can give vitality and effectiveness to the efforts we are making for their solution.

The twenty-one American republics have, by the conventions adopted at this Conference, coordinated and made effective the existing machinery for the maintenance of peace. Such agreements as the Kellogg-Briand pact have been handicapped by lack of implementation; other agreements have created the initial machinery of peace but have failed to provide ways and means to assure its successful operation. By the agreements adopted at this Conference we now have a method of consultation which is capable of enhancing the efficiency of the peace pacts already in existence and of assisting the parties to them in carrying out the obligations they entail. Without a real identity of purpose among us all, without common understanding, and unless we—all of us—had the same goal in view, the system of consultation might be considered a poor, a sterile plan. But with a continuation of the good-will which now exists and with, as I hope, an ever-increasing purpose of real cooperation, consultation lies necessarily at the basis of all agreement on this continent. Without it no plans of common action could be made effective. We pledge ourselves to consult; we also rely upon our sense of our individual national needs and the recognition of our common interest in the maintenance of peace to meet such situations as may arise.

The American republics have not only entered into a solemn agreement to consult one another should any one of them be threatened or attacked at home and seek to give effect to a common and solidary policy of neutrality; but, more than that, they have undertaken to assume a common and solidary attitude toward an attack from abroad. This they have done in a way consistent with their sovereignty and independence and their ultimate right to make decisions in accordance with their own national legislation. They meet as equals before the law. They have formally disclaimed any purpose of intervening in one another's domestic affairs. They recognize their collective concern in the safety of each and all of their number if any non-American power should offer a threat to the peace of this continent. Thus,

the national security of each individual American republic has become the common interest of all.

The twenty-one republics could have taken no more significant step in promoting conditions of both regional and world peace than by making their unanimous and unequivocal declaration for equality of commercial treatment and for the lowering of the barriers obstructing trade. They have emphasized their will for peace by manifesting their intention to pursue the economic policies which alone afford the firm foundation for peace. They are persuaded that a flourishing commerce is a strong link to bind nations together; that a freer interchange of goods and services inevitably operates to relieve economic distress, to increase employment, to improve standards of living, and to add to the material happiness of their peoples.

Furthermore, union of common purpose must include facilities for physical and intellectual exchange. This Conference has made striking advances in this field, having facilitated the construction of a Pan-American highway, arranged for exchange of students and professors, and made plans for scientific and artistic cooperation in a degree heretofore unknown.

Such, in brief summary, are the outstanding accomplishments of this Conference. The fact stands out that a great inter-American conference has met, and in a spirit of mutual trust and common purpose has worked out detailed and practical measures for the preservation of peace.

We turn now to something more fundamental than the actual accomplishments of the Conference as they appear on the record of the treaties and resolutions adopted. I have in mind the spirit which animates the individual American republics and which is the firmest guaranty of their written word. That spirit is latent in their democratic institutions, which we believe to be the basis upon which the good faith of nations must ultimately rest. If, in the words of the President of my country, "democracy is still the hope of the world", then it is for us to guard with a jealous eye our chosen form of government and to further in every possible way the education of our people in the processes of self-government. The necessity for such education cannot be over-emphasized. Freedom is the soil from which peace springs. From the institutions of a free people arise those conditions of stability of governments so essential for the preservation of lasting peace. Therefore we are joined in a common determination to make our countries safe for peace.

There is no need for this conception to be limited to the American nations. There is an imperative need for its immediate world-wide application.

Surely the time has come for every nation of the world to take inventory and to examine its own purposes and policies. Like individ-

uals, nations must learn to forgive and forget the injuries done them by fellow nations. And in contemplating the future peace and welfare of humanity, we can and must speak in a spirit of entire friendliness to all nations and all peoples of today.

Democracies today are free to express the desire of all peoples for peace. While favoring the maintenance of a military power adequate to guard their security and to protect their national interests against aggression, they continue to work for peace by every practicable means. They believe that future peace can be assured by the development of public opinion everywhere that will utterly repudiate the acts and utterances of statesmen propagating doctrines of militarism.

We conceive modern civilization to be incompatible with war. It follows that a policy that contemplates frequent wars and decries the possibility of prolonged peace is in its practical effects a policy highly conducive to war. It merely provides a breathing-spell for preparation for war. This philosophy would destroy the spirit of all peace. It would merely give an armistice during which armaments are built up, soldiers are trained, munition dumps are filled, economic machinery is perverted to the uses of future war. This philosophy and these portentous conditions unfortunately prevail in many parts of the world today. These are conditions which breed war. They do not foster peace.

Why should statesmen, looking only to the past, insist that war is inevitable? If history shows that wars have been frequent, it likewise shows that enlightened statesmanship could have prevented most of them. War is not an act of God but a crime of man. War is something that is provoked by evil passions. Hate, fear, greed, vain-glory, the lust for power: these are the progenitors of war. If peoples tolerated war in the past, it has become impossible for them to do so any longer. For the instruments of destruction which have been invented are now so devastating in their effects that compromise with them is no longer possible. To attempt to humanize war is to attempt the impossible. We must destroy war or war will destroy us. I do not believe that peoples will passively accept the conclusion that because men since time immemorial have died on battlefields, they have no choice but to continue to die on battlefields in the future.

The free peoples of the world have come to reject the theory that war is natural and inevitable. They are no longer thrilled by the panoply of the militarists; nor are they carried away by the hysteria of propaganda for war. They know that the love of power is a thing of evil. They would cry "halt" to any who, through love of power, would break the peace. Glory is not to be achieved by the march of armies and the death of men.

Those who sit in the masters' seats and shape the destinies of other

which may avoid war unexplored. The real patriots and the real heroes of the future will be the leaders who find and follow the road to peace.

I keenly feel that, in our labors here, we have done more than to coordinate the machinery to preserve the peace of our own republics. I cannot emphasize too strongly that we are in no sense moving toward a policy of continental isolation. We are not lured by the mirage of self-containment; we are aware of its pitfalls. In a close-knit, interdependent world we see the folly of seeking to build a Chinese wall around a hemisphere. Our purpose is not to isolate this continent, but to chart our own path to peace and thereby set a practical example to other parts of the world.

Of what could there be greater need today than the example given by us here of opening the door to peace? Here by practical action we have demonstrated that there can be a common collaboration to this end. Here we have revitalized international law, and here we have renewed those finer relationships between nations upon which, in the last analysis, freedom, peace, prosperity, and civilization itself depend.

In recent years the entire international order has suffered severe dislocation, and the relations between nations have become increasingly confused and chaotic, and human progress has been obstructed. These conditions require prompt attention and remedy. We must diminish the dangers attendant upon conditions of moral isolation and intensified nationalism. This we seek to do by encouraging a world-wide reaffirmation of the principle of the honorable maintenance of obligations, of full faith in the given word, and of fair-dealing between equal partners. Such qualities in the conduct of nations are essential conditions for the betterment of their relations and for the consolidation of peace.

And so, in this last hour, when our consultations here for the common welfare are at a close and when each of us is about to return to his own country, let us do so with a continued faith and hope.

We here have witnessed significant advances toward the establishment of a permanent peace for this hemisphere. Let us each go our way determined to carry forward our program and to emblazon upon the banners of our republics the spirit in which it was conceived. Let us return to our particular problems and duties pledging that we will, individually and collectively, reject the counsels of force. Let us hold out to a darkened world the beacon of a just and permanent peace which we pledge ourselves to maintain on this American continent. May the spirit and the example which we have consecrated here be of avail throughout the world.

OTHER ADDRESSES

Appendix 12

ADDRESS OF DR. MACEDO SOARES, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF BRAZIL, AT THE BANQUET GIVEN IN HONOR OF SECRETARY HULL, RIO DE JANEIRO, NOVEMBER 19, 1936

(Translation)

Your Excellency, Mr. Secretary of State, when you attended the Pan American Conference in Montevideo in 1933 had an opportunity of touching at Rio de Janeiro, and we know that you had a very good impression of its picturesque surroundings. But even to an outstanding citizen of this continent as is Your Excellency, the impression of nature and man is not sufficient to understand fully a country such as ours. It behooves us to enlighten your understanding to show you our true sentiments, to give you an inkling of our ideas, of our hopes, of our tendencies, in order that a clear vision of the national destiny of Brazil be presented to Your Excellency.

The long and brilliantly active career of Your Excellency in American public life and your political services from the State legislature in Tennessee in 1893 to the United States Senate, from which you were chosen by the far-seeing vision of President Roosevelt for the eminent post among his principal collaborators in the government of the country, shows how greatly it interests us that Your Excellency should know us thoroughly under the care of a pilot who will discover Brazil to you.

I wish to be that pilot, Mr. Cordell Hull; I wish to have the honor and also, shall I say, the happiness to be in my own country the guide of this illustrious visitor.

When our ancestors landed in this continent, they brought with them the ideas of Christian civilization. They brought with them also the duties, the difficulties, the hopes, and the delusion of an Old World, that from the New World desired only to tear hurriedly its riches, its treasures, its gold and precious stones which have always been the demons of human imagination. It happened, however, that the immigrants of the *Mayflower* in your country, the Spanish conquistadors in other parts of America, the Portuguese pioneers in Brazil, finished by creating nations which rooted themselves in the new lands, assuming thereby an unmistakable spiritual significance.

We know it well, Mr. Secretary of State, that much blood has been spilt in the adventurous life of America. Several have been the occasions upon which we have been in the contingency of committing the collective crime of war, but the fact remains that our countries have finally accustomed themselves to breathe the normal atmosphere of peace, the consolidation of which depends only on the cultural improvements of people inevitably destined to live in harmony as good neighbors.

The necessities of European peoples, all different in their sentiments, in their traditions, in their racial formations, in religion, in languages, and in customs, have daily aggravated these difficult problems of territories and nationalities, of economic conditions of life, military standing, and political tendencies.

A similar effort which we would have to expend in America to create a feeling of hatred and rancor, would be equal to that which the Europeans would need to create the illusion of friendship and confidence. Peace in America is not the dialectical opposite of European war. Peace in America is a superior state in human civilization, it is one which we begin to call "policy of good neighbors", it is a true and friendly understanding, it is the continental co-possession of the values linked to peace, that is to say, the change from national fraternity to the confraternization of the people.

We feel that the Conference of Buenos Aires, which has been convoked by the happy inspiration of your great President, will consecrate in the dictionaries a new American acceptance of the word *Peace*, meaning understanding, friendship, fraternity, solidarity in all America.

So peace is the spiritual atmosphere of America. Your Excellency, coming from other lands, has just crossed the ocean of the old discoverers. It does not matter. It was said by our first historian that the country seen from the sea seems very low and beautiful; he added that the land "is generous enough to bear anything, owing to the water it contains, if one wants to use it". So it is . . . But in this land we built, in four hundred years of struggle, work, and hardship, a great nation.

We are today forty-five millions of Brazilians, offering a spectacle which cannot but be a formidable attraction for the transcending curiosity of such a great American statesman as Your Excellency Mr. Cordell Hull undoubtedly is.

In the political and social order the unmistakable sign of Brazil is the federation; so we remained during the entire period of the colonial regime.

Our country, extending in latitude, had to found its union on the basis of diversity.

But while the Portuguese colonization was leading us in the path of political discontinuity, it was consolidating our moral continuity, without rifts or breaks. By race, by religion, by language, by customs, by tradition, and by ideal, we are a nation firm and unshakeably united.

In its scope, nothing should be, by nature, more continuous and united than the rails of a railway; however, let us look closer. The open joints insure this objective, the spaces are the reserves for the elasticity of the metals and a guaranty of the efficiency and durability of the work. In Brazil the federation insures the national union. No one hesitates to acknowledge this fundamental obstacle of the federated form of government to the totalitarian regimes. Brazil may be said to be, first of all, a country destined to a juridical regime, with guaranties of liberty and justice.

When we made the Republic in 1889, the big territory, the scarce population, the lack of communications and means of transportation did not permit the immediate establishment of a true democracy. After forty-five years we were still lacking the true foundation for a democratic government, which is the lawful political mandate.

The victorious revolution of 1930 came to confirm the Republic of 1889 and was able, besides, to establish this time the democratic regime.

However, it cannot be denied that this revolutionary movement was able, thanks to the electoral reform, to hold three big polls, each one of them free from fraud and violence, out of which came lawful mandates, expressing, if not the thought, at least the will of the voters. However, I will not say, Mr. Cordell Hull, that we have attained perfection in our electoral system; we lack yet what is most difficult to attain, the awakening of the civic pride and electoral enthusiasm of the Brazilians so that they may use the vote as do the great nations of the world.

But it does not matter. Your Excellency can see that the Brazilian Federation is already a democracy, not because of the existing identity of subject and object of government, where government and those governed agree in the government of the people by the people. Neither have we yet written in our democratic statutes: the referendum, a public initiative, the mandate, the abolition of parliamentary immunity; nor have we extended the vote to the judiciary and the administrative organizations as already adopted for so many years by your country.

When we abandoned the oligarchical regime, democracy was fighting the regimes of force throughout the world. So wisely we limited ourselves to universal suffrage with which we thought to interpret the opinion of the state, represented by those elected to govern.

Please note, Mr. Secretary of State, how Brazil may be defined: in a federation which is inevitably of a political order; in a democracy which is no doubt of a legal order.

What can still be discovered in a country thus based on federation and promoting democracy within its social and political aspirations? The sense of its normal life which is the love of freedom and contemplation of Christian ideals.

Of all things, the one that enrages us most is the barbaric, unbelievable destruction and sanguinary violence of the communistic factions in Europe. The humblest and poorest of Brazilian citizens crave justice, not the opposite of tyranny but its complete suppression.

Men and their troubles, the symbols and the monuments, the losses and prejudices do not rouse our souls to anger and hatred. What we precisely despise is the savage crime, the cannibalism of civilized people, the brutality of the tyrants, the denial of right, the studied destruction of moral ideas and sentimental obligations.

Poisonous fruit has for many years weighed down the branches of the trees in the supposed communist "paradise". How can we be tempted to gather it, knowing that we are exposing ourselves to expulsion from our Eden of peace and fraternity in order to engage in class war or party slavery?

Brazil, Mr. Cordell Hull, is a free and Christian nation. Its center of gravity is duty and justice, and the forces which maintain its equilibrium in its clear and peaceful destiny are federation, democracy, freedom with the political order, discipline, and Christian faith.

After the spiritual, social, and political panorama of Brazil, which I have attempted to describe, Mr. Secretary of State, it would be well if we could just glance over our material life, considering its economic, financial, and administrative aspects, with their peculiarities which render interesting our national existence.

The true and fundamental strength of a country is always based on its capacity to produce and consume. The demographic economic indexes only take into consideration the number of consumers; the nonconsuming populations do not count as a part of the national resources.

The United States of America owe their colossal progress to the rapid incorporation of continuously growing population in relation to their consumer's statistics. The agricultural and industrial production of your country, Mr. Cordell Hull, seemed to have an unlimited expansion when, during the period of 1924 to 1929, the organization of the system of credit sales gave the Americans a buying super-capacity which caused by its artificiality the crisis of 1929.

This excess of credit expansion does not weaken the theory which acknowledges that the economical strength of nations resides in their activity in domestic commerce. We see the undeniable efforts of

Soviet Russia trying to transform the populations of Tartars and Moujiks of their country spread over two continents, into the consuming elements of a modern society. The latest material progress of that country may be valued by the inhuman efforts of the proletarian classes to obtain a transformation which is still lacking in moral factors and in the reality of a Christian civilization.

While on this subject, I must say that Brazil is now beginning the organization of its domestic markets. Its forty-five million inhabitants only supply about twenty million consumers. You may thus judge the future of our industrial as well as agricultural production, which should be the aim of a policy favorable to the stimulation of our production and to the transformation of all that constitutes our internal market, consolidating our wealth and elevating the level of our civilization.

No country in America can count on reserves of economic expansion comparable to our own. I could cite products and optimistic statistics to Your Excellency, showing the whole field of our wealth already being exploited and that yet unworked. I consider it more interesting, however, to assure you that the Government of this country is fully aware of the importance of this problem. That is to say: the constant intensification and defense of our domestic market; for we are convinced that the real wealth that determines the positive progress of nations is the fruit of the work which increases and is perfected within its own economic frontiers.

In normal times, international commerce is a powerful aid and stimulant for the fixation of wealth created by domestic commerce. The classic conception of international commerce was its absolute liberty; we know well how the European war, after creating many formulas of state intervention, thus perturbing this classic conception of international commerce, finally tangled itself in the economy of the state.

Beginning with simple interference, we went on to directed economy and finished totally absorbed by anarchy.

To one acquainted with the difficulties and troubles of balancing budgets, our own troubles will cause no surprise—indeed they were recently called a tempest in a teapot by an English banker. Our administrative and financial organizations are most faulty: we have a banking organization which is far from perfect; our taxation system has been considerably ameliorated; and we are now in a period of readjusting the needs of the country within the possibilities of the state.

All capital which we can invest in public utilities in the betterment of the administration is bound to succeed with wonderful results. Brazil's power of development is great, as I have already said, and is a sequence of our daily economical improvement, i.e. the expansion of

Mr. Secretary of State, you have heard a definition of the political, social, economic, and financial Brazil that is to be represented at the Peace Conference of Buenos Aires. I wish to speak now of the aims which take us there.

Our America undoubtedly possesses problems and principles of its own. For this reason, the Conference which has been convoked by the great President Roosevelt and is to be presided over by President Justo, should take into consideration measures of a purely American nature in order to meet the favorable conditions and special needs which are solely of continental interest. We must not, at the start, be induced toward universality of the inter-American juridical regime for the maintenance of peace, which in most cases is more theoretical than real.

Our respective nations, filled with a decidedly pacific spirit, based on a sincere desire of mutual cooperation among the people of America, will participate in the Conference of Buenos Aires, ready to do some constructive work leading the way to the end so close to all our hearts.

The primary aim is, no doubt, the consolidation of peace on this continent, true to the inclination and the historical growth of the states therein, whose natural tendencies it is our duty to develop. All efforts will evidently be directed to this purpose.

We shall examine, besides, with the truest spirit of cooperation, the suggestions of an economic or cultural nature, or any other which may avoid conflicts.

It does not seem to us that, to attain this objective, the best idea is the creation, in and for this continent, of new institutions similar to those already existing in Europe with identical objectives and aiming at universality.

We all know that the Pan American Union, as it works now, is already doing great service to the purpose of bringing together the countries of our continent, and there is no acceptable reason why we should embarrass its efficient action by giving it an unnecessary political character.

This would be even contrary to the tradition resulting from the resolutions of the Inter-American Conferences, which were never favorable to such a change in the attributes of that well-deserving institution.

Turning from the international juridical regime in a general sense to the more limited field of organization of international justice, we cannot fail to acknowledge that there is already in the world an institution that deserves respect and esteem and that should be upheld by all nations. I refer to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. Many were the American jurists who contributed to the making of its basic statutes.

More than half of the American republics are associated with it and those that are not may appeal freely to it to find a guaranty of justice.

So it can be seen that we are not inspired by any resentment or antipathy against men or institutions of other continents, knowing fully well that here in America we deal with ideals and interests different from those of other nations. I feel sure that, in Buenos Aires, we shall attain our aims without difficulty as there we shall be animated by feelings of the most sincere and profound Americanism. Thus, I confidently expect that the great assembly of peace that will shortly unite us all will at least bring useful and beneficial measures, not only tending to eliminate barriers to the establishment of a perfect and mutual understanding between nations of this hemisphere, but also tending to a fuller confidence between the American countries.

The delegation of Brazil and that of the United States of America, both devoted to the policy of "good neighbors", will contribute no doubt to this common work with identical enthusiasm and brotherly feeling, which has already brought about fruitful results.

My address, Mr. Cordell Hull, differing from the usual diplomatic standard, will, however, express to Your Excellency the latest diplomatic language which is the one referring to the work, the wealth, the happiness, and the ideals of the people. I could not attempt to show Brazil to you without giving you an idea of the domestic life, ideals, sentiments, and morals of this great nation.

To give you a rapid idea of all which we have inherited of our ancestors and which we hope to transfer, greatly increased, to our sons and descendants, we would be obliged to study briefly the problems of our economic and financial life.

The brief notes which I have just made will no doubt convey the due measure of the interest which we have in the enlightened judgment of Your Excellency about the spiritual and material life of Brazil. The true essence of friendship among people is mutual knowledge, the same which regulates the respect and friendship among persons.

This country, which adopted in 1889 the juridical formula of the American political institutions, has always shown a great interest in the changes of Government and parties in American life. Your greatness, your strength, and your extraordinary progress have always been for us a motive of continental pride. Your great men are familiar to us. We know them all quite well, we know the strenuous life of your President Franklin Roosevelt, who already occupies a large place in our hearts.

The Brazilian Government, in paying tribute to the great American nation represented in the person of Your Excellency, freely and sincerely expresses the feelings of Brazil and, by so doing, endeavors to obtain your personal friendship, thereby proving the high esteem and great admiration which your personality inspires us with.

To your health and happiness, Secretary of State Cordell Hull!

Appendix 13**ADDRESS OF SECRETARY HULL AT THE BANQUET GIVEN
IN HIS HONOR BY DR. MACEDO SOARES, RIO DE JANEIRO,
NOVEMBER 19, 1936**

I am glad that there is opportunity for this visit with you on my way south. I appreciate the warmth of your welcome and am moved by the friendliness that surrounds us.

The American delegation, for which I speak, travels toward Buenos Aires with the sense of being only one of numerous groups of pilgrim brothers moving together with a common thought, and not as a diplomatic mission bent upon some exclusive national aim.

It is no ordinary occasion that draws together the representatives of the twenty-one American republics at Buenos Aires. We are followed by high hopes of all the peoples of a great continent. No immediate difference among us necessitates our gathering. No prevailing fear or profound mistrust compels us to maintain our guards one against the other. There are no deep hatreds among us such as might thwart our impulse to be friends. We are not animated by calculations of special advantage such as might cleave us apart.

Purposes of another kind draw us together. We are impelled by the wish to make known and effective the beliefs and desires which we have in common. We are responding to our need of declaring and carrying forward in unison our common ideals. We meet to affirm our trust and friendship, to combine our faith, to make sure that peace shall prevail among us, and to repudiate with our whole mind and spirit those aims and philosophies that bring nations into conflict and send weary men to march over gas-poisoned battlefields. At Buenos Aires we shall seek the most effective and durable expression of this joint will to advance the ideals of peace between nations, government by the consent of the people, and esteem for human welfare as the basis of government. We shall seek ratification of the written agreements—for the most part in existence—in which these purposes are embodied. It is these tasks that bid us assemble at Buenos Aires.

Traveling on the boat down from New York, looking from my deck chair at the brilliant stars in the deep night sky, I rejoiced in the thought that we who are coming together at Buenos Aires need not fear that we would see against those skies the outline of airplanes flying to kill the people that live under them. We must strive to keep this hemisphere clear of the fear which this image represents. We must live as a continent of nations in peaceful and equitable relations with each other. I am sure that all the nations of this continent will respond to that vow. It is in the heart of each of us. We will seek further to define the means and conditions by which peace among us may be assured.

Despite the endless wars that have marked all the known past of the world, we must believe that the masses of people not only on this continent but elsewhere in the world will soon insist upon peace in international relations and be willing to live in a way that will bring peace. If we, the American republics, manifest this faith and purpose, if we show our willingness to ratify the pledges of peace between us, these events will be hailed everywhere. The people of those countries outside this hemisphere will not be heedless of our example. Nor can we be heedless of theirs. For war anywhere in the world must disturb and threaten peace everywhere.

We have the opportunity to demonstrate our own faith in our own ways of life and our own forms of government, and the duty of so acting that these shall serve us so well as to continue to command respect throughout the world. We are rightly proud of the democratic form of government in which we have made our history. We all know the occasional disadvantages and difficulties that such form of government encounters. We know that continued watchfulness and effort are essential to good democratic government. But to all of us, self-government, democratic government, has always been and remains an essential condition of the good life as we conceive it. Such government is government controlled by the people and dedicated to the advancement and peaceful welfare of the people. It is government which draws its strength from the development of the individual under conditions of liberty; it is the form of government that looks to liberty to make men great and then trusts the greatness that liberty produces.

It is the mode of government, I believe, in which the ideals of peace are most naturally developed and sustained. The conceptions of brotherhood and equality that underlie the relations between the citizens of a democracy impart themselves to the shaping of relations between democracies. It is rare that a self-governing country lives long on hatred, pursues an oppressive course, or nourishes dangerous ambitions. It tends rather to conduct its affairs and its relations with other nations in ways that serve peaceful general improvement. Peace, peace everywhere in the world, is the natural concern of the democracies of this continent.

If at Buenos Aires we can make that plain; if we can show clearly enough our determination to remain at peace while being strong; if we can make it more difficult for those few who may be willing to use war as an instrument of self-advancement or national policy to have their way; if we can make it less likely that those whose lives would be given in war may be deceived as to the realities of war; if we can advance but a little the trade relations between us that serve our mutual welfare; if we can do any of these things, our meeting will justify itself.

For a final moment let us turn aside from these thoughts on the coming conference for a few words on the relations between Brazil and

the United States. These relations have been blessed with uninterrupted peace and friendship. They have been animated by a ready congeniality. No American ever sails into the harbor at Rio de Janeiro without a spirit elated by reminiscences of the tales read in his childhood of the sailing-ship voyages of the early days of our history. A sense of adventure and the excitement of beauty mingle in his mind. Each American in his own mind plans the type of expedition which our former great President, Theodore Roosevelt, undertook in your land.

The trade relations between us have always been extensive. We use many Brazilian products in our daily lives. Your coffee refreshes and makes fragrant our breakfast table when the morning air is purest. Out of your fine woods we make some of the most cherished furniture of our homes. The products of your farms and mines are used in many branches of our industrial life. I know likewise that many of our products enter into your lives. I need not remind you that Brazil was the second country with which my government concluded a trade agreement under its new policy directed toward restoring international trade; nor of the fact that it was with Brazil that the United States, in 1923, first formally espoused the most-favored-nation principle in its unconditional form, which is designed to promote trade on the basis of equality of opportunity. I am sure that we both desire that trade between us continue to increase and that it be assured at all times treatment as truly advantageous as either country may afford to any other country.

I hail the future of relations between our two countries. In addition to the ideals of self-government and free government in which we have developed together, to the friendly adventures which have brought our peoples together in the past, to the exchange of products for life and work which goes on in the present, we now meet to serve the future together in still another way. We meet with all the other American republics to affirm joyously the wish of the republics of the American continent to live at peace, one with the other.

Appendix 14

ADDRESS OF SECRETARY HULL BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF FOREIGN RELATIONS, NEW YORK CITY, FEBRUARY 25, 1937

RESULTS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONFERENCE

It is with unusual satisfaction that I avail myself of this opportunity to review briefly the results and the significance of the Buenos Aires meeting. I welcome the opportunity especially because to those who,

like myself, were privileged to take an active part in the work of the Conference, the experience remains a vivid and inspiring memory.

The work of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace touched the very heart of the tangled complex of problems which today plague the responsible statesmen of the world and upon the solution of which depends so greatly the future welfare of the nations. The twenty-one American republics have forged among themselves new ties of friendship and peace. More than that, they have, in my opinion, made a genuine contribution not only to the safeguarding of peace but to the strengthening of democracy and of international order as well. While dealing with regional problems, the Conference pointed straight at the frightful deterioration of many essential international relationships everywhere and vigorously proclaimed a basic program for their restoration.

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The Buenos Aires meeting was one of a succession of inter-American conferences which have been, for nearly fifty years, a factor of ever-growing importance in the international life of the Western Hemisphere. There were, however, two features of outstanding importance which distinguished it from its predecessors and invested it with the character of a truly extraordinary occasion. The first of these was the subject-matter of the Conference itself—its all-embracing concentration upon the problem of safeguarding the maintenance of peace. The second was the dismal world setting, in which the representatives of the American republics assembled for their arduous and momentous labors.

The problem of peace was never absent from the thoughts of those statesmen who had in the past gathered together in major inter-American conferences. Step by step foundations were laid for the organization of pacific relations.

A feeling of mutual trust, an attitude of the "good neighbor", for some years have been steadily growing among the American republics. I well recall how completely and how gratifyingly that accumulated feeling permeated the atmosphere of the Seventh International Conference of American States, held at Montevideo in 1933. More than any other factor it was responsible for the constructive achievements which made that meeting a memorable occasion in the annals of American history.

But even there opportunity was still lacking for a comprehensive effort to build a complete structure of enduring peace in the Western Hemisphere. It was primarily to launch this vast undertaking that the convocation of the Buenos Aires Conference was proposed by President Roosevelt in his letter, addressed on January 30, 1936, to the chiefs of state of the other twenty American republics.

President Roosevelt's proposal met with prompt, unanimous, and enthusiastic response. The character of the response and the readiness and vigor with which the American republics engaged in the preparation of the proposed conference made it abundantly clear that the time was ripe for the effort which was in contemplation.

All of us had watched with increasing apprehension the swelling of the angry stream of recent events in world affairs. The tendency almost everywhere was steadily in the direction of international anarchy. Religion and morals, constituting the entire foundation of normal and worth-while international relations and of civilized intercourse itself, were breached, and often flouted, with impunity. International or domestic strife was in progress in some parts of the world and in undisguised preparation in others. The construction of armaments was proceeding on a scale unparalleled in history, and more and more nations were being drawn into the suicidal race, notwithstanding that the late World War and the recent world panic had not been liquidated.

The regime of international law was honored more in the breach than in the observance. Unilateral departure from treaties—or, to put it more bluntly, the policy of breaking a given word—endangered the whole structure of international agreements.

Combined with this, economic policies were being evolved by various governments, supposedly for their individual advantage, devised to restrict and confine trade and to burden commerce with almost medieval restrictions and discriminations. The resulting destruction and artificial diversion of trade were creating, among nations, animosities and resentment and were provoking economic aggression and retaliation. They were causing, within nations, acute economic distress, with declining standards of living and deepening dissatisfaction.

All these conditions and tendencies were breeding wide-spread unrest, were undermining governmental structures and impairing political stability. They were disrupting democratic institutions and, by correspondingly encouraging and strengthening autocratic rule, were hopelessly handicapping the forces of peace and international order.

All of us knew only too well the destruction and misery which the onrushing stream of all these discordant elements was leaving in its wake. All of us realized only too acutely the even more fearsome consequences that would emerge if the stream were to overflow and wide-spread military conflict were to engulf our entire civilization.

It was with a clear visualization constantly before them of these unprecedented difficulties and critical conditions that the responsible statesmen of the American republics went to the Buenos Aires Conference.

II

From the very first interchange of views among the delegates, it became manifest that all the American republics are determined in their desire that peace prevail among them, as well as between each of them and the rest of the world. There was no mistaking the concerted will of the twenty-one nations for an effective renunciation of war as a means of policy and action and for the enthronement of peaceful means as the sole instrument for the adjustment of differences. As the work of the Conference progressed, this solidarity of purpose and unity of determination became more and more crystallized.

The whole Conference was not one in which rival governments sought exclusive national advantages or purposes. Instead, throughout, a similarity of thinking and of outlook demonstrated itself and made our meetings a truly joint effort for a mutually desired purpose. The Conference drew from all present a willing contribution toward a general result which corresponded to the underlying purpose of all.

This was the real condition that made possible a successful conference. This was the fact which explains why the major agreements were brought before the Conference as drafts supported and presented unanimously by the participating governments. What was sought and attained was not a diplomatic victory by any of the nations represented, but full understanding, friendly cooperation, and long-range planning.

Three main premises were accepted by all. The first was that the American hemisphere has a distinct and peculiar contribution to make because no nation in it is driven by any compulsion or professes any right to threaten the peace of its neighbors. The second was that the only safety for all nations is loyal acceptance of a rule of law under which the integrity of every country, large or small, will be assured. The third was that renunciation of war and other similar declarations must be implemented by a method of action which can set into operation almost instantaneously the cooperative effort of the hemisphere in the direction of pacific settlements.

With this in mind, various proposals for implementation were advanced, but they swiftly merged into a single dominant idea: Any threat to the maintenance of peace on this continent must lead to an immediate consultation between all of our governments with a view to seeking common policies and taking common measures which may end a conflict in progress, or prevent a conflict not yet begun.

It was out of these considerations that emerged the major treaties and agreements negotiated at the Conference. These instruments provide a complete consultative system. They are designed thus to bring into active cooperation all twenty-one governments whenever the peace of the hemisphere is menaced either from within or without,

or whenever a sufficiently grave situation arises elsewhere in the world which may create a threat to the peace of the western world.

III

Of the numerous accords reached at Buenos Aires, there were three which, if universally ratified, will constitute an effective organization for the maintenance of peaceful and cordial relationships between the American republics. These were:

First. The convention to coordinate, extend, and assure the fulfilment of the existing treaties between the American states. In this agreement the American governments reaffirm the obligations they had previously accepted in five international pacts and accords (among which are the Kellogg-Briand pact and the treaty of non-aggression and conciliation signed in Rio de Janeiro in 1933). These comprise the obligation of the nations to settle, by pacific means, controversies of international character that may arise between them.

The nations furthermore agree to consult and cooperate to make available effective means of pacific settlement. They further pledge themselves that, while such consultation is in progress, the parties in dispute, for a period of at least six months, will not have recourse to hostilities or any military action whatever. And those American nations which may be involved in a controversy likewise obligate themselves to report to the other American governments the methods of pacific settlement which they select, as well as the progress made in the adjustment of their dispute.

Lastly, the agreement provides that in the event that, despite these pledges and arrangements, war should occur between any American republics, the other American republics will attempt through consultation to adopt, in their character as neutrals, a common and solidary attitude in order to discourage or prevent the spread or prolongation of hostilities.

Second. The convention for the maintenance, preservation, and reestablishment of peace. This agreement is based on the conviction expressed in its text, "that every war or threat of war affects directly or indirectly all civilized peoples and endangers the great principles of liberty and justice which constitute the American ideal and the standard of American international policy". In its five brief articles the various American governments pledge themselves to consult with each other in three different types of circumstances which might threaten their peace. First, in the event that the peace of the American republics is menaced; second, in the event of war between Ameri-

can states; and third, in the event of an international war outside America which might menace the peace of the American republics.

I have faith in the usefulness of this prospective process of consultation. I believe that if and when crises of the kind envisaged should arise, the peoples of the American continent will demand of their governments that they find in consultation the means of avoiding or ending conflict.

In adhering to this agreement, the American republics accept and demonstrate a joint concern for the "peace of the American Republics". This concern was also recognized and set forth in the declaration of principles of inter-American solidarity and cooperation, adopted at the Conference, which declares "that every act susceptible of disturbing the peace of America affects each and every one of them, and justifies the initiation of the procedure of consultation" In this promise of concerted obligation small states will find assurance. The Government of the United States welcomes this action as completely in line with the historic concern which it has always had for the independence and territorial integrity of this hemisphere.

Third. The additional protocol relative to nonintervention. This agreement reaffirms the convention signed at Montevideo in 1933 which embodies the fundamental principle that "no State has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of others". In the continued reaffirmation of this principle and continued pledge of its observance, the American republics see a guarantee of full equality and complete freedom to manage their own affairs.

What a boon to humanity it would be if other groups of nations were, at this crucial stage in world affairs, to give their plighted faith to a similar undertaking—if they were, in a spirit of peace, unity, and moral consecration, to reassert and revitalize the law of nations, international morality, and treaty obligations, and to pledge solemn observance of the doctrine of the equality, the sovereignty, the territorial integrity, and the liberty of all nations.

IV

In addition to the three accords just described, the Conference adopted a number of significant and far-reaching agreements and resolutions calculated to increase the flow of trade, to stimulate cultural interchange, and to improve the methods of communication.

There was general and emphatic agreement that all countries must work toward a system of freer economic interchange, so that the standards of living in the various countries may be gradually raised and the commercial necessities of each country adequately recognized,

and that thereby the economic compulsions toward war and domestic strife may be removed. There was equally emphatic agreement that rising economic prosperity, resulting from growing and mutually beneficial international trade, is an essential condition for freedom and for the preservation and strengthening of democratic institutions, and that such institutions constitute a most effective peace insurance.

The Conference unanimously affirmed the necessity and desirability of lessening the present excessive obstacles to international trade and of conducting trade relations on principles which assure equality of treatment. It asserted the necessity of shaping governmental policy to the end that trade will not be diverted into artificial channels created by narrow and forced political arrangement, but will flow along lines of economic benefit. It recognized that trade should not be disrupted and handicapped by the discriminatory effects of various systems of control, clearing, and compensation devices. The Conference recommended that these declarations of economic policy be followed by quick and vigorous action on the part of the American republics. This liberal commercial policy should be the central point in the economic program of every nation.

By means of still other agreements and resolutions, the Conference perfected plans and arrangements for increasing the educational and cultural interchange between the American countries. These look toward a growing exchange of students and teachers between our various countries and a greater cooperation in scientific work. They aim to assure a steady, fuller, and better-proportioned movement of current news in this hemisphere and a proper utilization of the facilities of the radio to spread a continuous picture of life throughout the continent. They are designed to promote deeper mutual understanding and to provide a broader basis for friendly relations founded upon a growing knowledge of, and respect for, each other's views and aspirations.

V

These were the immediate results of the Conference. They represent far more than a mere beginning. The agreements and arrangements negotiated at Buenos Aires are interconnected segments of a structure of permanent peace in the process of creation.

In a world in which cynics scoff at all efforts to banish war, the twenty-one American republics have boldly declared their determination to keep alive the spirit of peace. They have affirmed their trust in each other and their faith in the sacredness of treaty obligations. At Buenos Aires there was no cynical dismissal of the idea that a nation's pledged word is a valid obligation. There was a determination among these nations that their relations with each other should be conducted on the basis of friendly cooperation, of law and justice, and not by the rule of force.

At Buenos Aires the American nations, speaking through their governments, demonstrated their conviction that the maintenance of peace requires the reestablishment of profound respect for international law and a sincere concern for the higher principles of international relationship. It is my firm belief that the agreements, resolutions, and recommendations formulated and adopted at Buenos Aires represent an important step in the direction of the reestablishment and revitalization of international law.

This profession of faith in the desirability and possibility of a world organized for peace and advancing civilization, rather than for war and degrading savagery, is applicable not only to our hemisphere but to all other parts of the world. In other regions external conditions may be different from those which prevail in the American continent. The agreements and arrangements adopted by the American republics may not, in all their detail, meet the requirements of the other continents. But the principles underlying the instruments of peace forged at the Buenos Aires Conference are universal in their application. They, within themselves, constitute an appealing invitation to all nations to accept them without delay.

The right of each country to manage its own affairs free from outside interference; the principle of sovereignty and of equality of states, irrespective of size and strength; sincere respect for law and the pledged word as the foundation of an international order; friendly and cooperative effort to promote enduring peace; mutually advantageous economic intercourse based upon the rule of equal treatment; and mutually broadening and uplifting cultural relationships—all these are indispensable if the governments of the world are to fulfil the sacred trust involved in the task of planning and providing for the safety and welfare of their peoples.

The future of our entire civilization is bound up with the acceptance by all governments of these fundamental tenets of constructive statesmanship. The longer important nations delay their adoption, the graver will be the jeopardy into which all worth-while international relationships will be plunged, and with them the welfare, the happiness, and the civilized existence of all nations. A government which substitutes for these principles, policies based upon extremes of national pride, ambition, aggrandizement, and ever-increasing armaments, renders the greatest possible disservice not only to the world at large but to its own people as well.

VI

The issue which confronted the American republics at the Conference, the issue which confronts today every nation of the earth, is clear. In the portentous future which lies immediately ahead, will the nations move further in the direction of increasing distrust and suspicion, of destructive commercial policy, of growing economic

antagonism, of unprecedented races in armaments, of the worst extremes of militarism, and thus inevitably plunge many parts of the world either into a military catastrophe or a crushing economic collapse? Or will the nations, as at Buenos Aires, embrace a program of understanding and trust, of friendly and peaceful relations, of fair-dealing and cooperative effort for the restoration of conditions of economic well-being?

So far as the Western Hemisphere is concerned, the answer has thus been given. Our own country is prepared to do its full part to bring it about that, on the basis of the arrangements reached at Buenos Aires, the nations of this continent will order their lives upon a sane balance of national freedom and practical international cooperation. We are confident that our sister republics will act likewise.

If we succeed, this will remain a healthy and hopeful hemisphere. And its twenty-one nations, with their quarter of a billion inhabitants, freed by their common action from the dread and scourge of war, should be able to encourage and, to the extent consistent with their traditional policies, cooperate with other nations to surmount their difficulties by similar methods.

There is every reason to believe that friends of peace all over the world, hitherto laboring under the utmost discouragement, have taken increased hope from what was said and done at Buenos Aires. It is not too much to say that the acts and utterances of the Conference are at once a challenge to the statesmanship of the world and a heartening symbol to the peoples of all nations.

I cannot believe that it is beyond the power of the statesmen of today to check and reverse the drift toward international anarchy, in the direction of which some parts of the world find themselves moving. The work of the recent Conference proves, in my judgment, that no part of the world needs to reconcile itself fatalistically to the inevitability of war. Upon the same basic principles that were implemented at Buenos Aires, the entire world can—and, I hope with all my heart, *will*—build a structure of enduring peace.

CONVENTIONS, TREATIES, AND ADDITIONAL PRO-
TOCOL SIGNED AT THE CONFERENCE AND
TABLE SHOWING RATIFICATION OF OR ADHER-
ENCE TO INSTRUMENTS FOR THE PACIFIC
SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES

Appendix 15

CONVENTION FOR THE MAINTENANCE, PRESERVATION
AND REESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE

The Governments represented at the Inter-American Conference
for the Maintenance of Peace,

CONSIDERING:

That according to the statement of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the
President of the United States, to whose lofty ideals the meeting of this
Conference is due, the measures to be adopted by it "would advance
the cause of world peace, inasmuch as the agreements which might
be reached would supplement and reinforce the efforts of the League
of Nations and of all other existing or future peace agencies in seeking
to prevent war";

That every war or threat of war affects directly or indirectly all
civilized peoples and endangers the great principles of liberty and
justice which constitute the American ideal and the standard of
American international policy;

That the Treaty of Paris of 1928 (Kellogg-Briand Pact) has been
accepted by almost all the civilized states, whether or not members
of other peace organizations, and that the Treaty of Non-Aggression
and Conciliation of 1933 (Saavedra Lamas Pact signed at Rio de
Janeiro) has the approval of the twenty-one American Republics
represented in this Conference,

Have resolved to give contractual form to these purposes by
concluding the present Convention, to which end they have appointed
the Plenipotentiaries hereafter mentioned:

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,

Argentina—Continued.

José María Cantilo,
 Felipe A. Espil,
 Leopoldo Melo,
 Isidoro Ruiz Moreno,
 Daniel Antokoletz.
 Carlos Brebbia,
 César Díaz Cisneros.

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
 J. Isidro Ramírez.

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
 Julián López Pineda.

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
 Carlos Brenes.

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
 Gustavo Herrera,
 Alberto Zerega Fombona.

Peru:

Carlos Concha,
 Alberto Ulloa,
 Felipe Barreda Laos,
 Diómedes Arias Schreiber.

El Salvador:

Manuel Castro Ramírez,
 Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

Mexico:

Francisco Castillo Nájera,
 Alfonso Reyes,
 Ramón Beteta,
 Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
 Oswaldo Aranha,

Brazil—Continued.

José de Paula Rodrigues Alves
Helio Lobo,
Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,
Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça,
Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
María Luiza Bittencourt.

Uruguay:

José Espalter,
Pedro Manini Ríos,
Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
Juan Antonio Buero,
Felipe Ferreiro,
Andrés F. Puyol,
Abalcázar García,
José G. Antuña,
Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso,
Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

Guatemala:

Carlos Salazar,
José A. Medrano,
Alfonso Carrillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
José María Moncada,
Modesto Valle.

Dominican Republic:

Max Henríquez Ureña,
Tulio M. Cestero,
Enrique Jiménez.

Colombia:

Jorge Soto del Corral,
Miguel López Pumarejo,
Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
Alberto Lleras Camargo,
José Ignacio Díaz Granados.

Panama:

Harmodio Arias M.,
 Julio Fábrega,
 Eduardo Chiari.

United States of America:

Cordell Hull,
 Sumner Welles,
 Alexander W. Weddell,
 Adolf A. Berle, Jr.
 Alexander F. Whitney,
 Charles G. Fenwick,
 Michael Francis Doyle,
 Elise F. Musser.

Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
 Luis Barros Borgoño,
 Félix Nieto del Río,
 Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
 Antonio Pons,
 José Gabriel Navarro,
 Francisco Guarderas,
 Eduardo Salazar Gómez.

Bolivia:

Enrique Finot,
 David Alvéstegui,
 Eduardo Diez de Medina,
 Alberto Ostria Gutiérrez,
 Carlos Romero,
 Alberto Cortadellas,
 Javier Paz Campero.

Haiti:

Horacio Pauleus Sannon,
 Camille J. León,
 Elie Lescot,
 Edmé Manigat,
 Pierre Eugene de Lespinasse,
 Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
Ramón Zaydín,
Carlos Márquez Sterling,
Rafael Santos Jiménez,
César Salaya,
Calixto Whitmarsh,
José Manuel Carbonell.

Who, after having deposited their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I.—In the event that the peace of the American Republics is menaced, and in order to coordinate efforts to prevent war, any of the Governments of the American Republics signatory to the Treaty of Paris of 1928 or to the Treaty of Non-Aggression and Conciliation of 1933, or to both, whether or not a member of other peace organizations, shall consult with the other Governments of the American Republics, which, in such event, shall consult together for the purpose of finding and adopting methods of peaceful cooperation.

ARTICLE II.—In the event of war, or a virtual state of war between American States, the Governments of the American Republics represented at this Conference shall undertake without delay the necessary mutual consultations, in order to exchange views and to seek, within the obligations resulting from the pacts above mentioned and from the standards of international morality, a method of peaceful collaboration; and, in the event of an international war outside America which might menace the peace of the American Republics, such consultation shall also take place to determine the proper time and manner in which the signatory states, if they so desire, may eventually cooperate in some action tending to preserve the peace of the American Continent.

ARTICLE III.—It is agreed that any question regarding the interpretation of the present Convention, which it has not been possible to settle through diplomatic channels, shall be submitted to the procedure of conciliation provided by existing agreements, or to arbitration or to judicial settlement.

ARTICLE IV.—The present Convention shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties in conformity with their respective constitutional procedures. The original convention shall be deposited in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic which shall communicate the ratifications to the other signatories. The Convention shall come into effect between the High Contracting Parties in the order in which they have deposited their ratifications.

ARTICLE V.—The present Convention shall remain in effect indefinitely but may be denounced by means of one year's notice, after the expiration of which period the Convention shall cease in its effects as regards the party which denounces it but shall remain in

effect for the remaining signatory States. Denunciations shall be addressed to the Government of the Argentine Republic, which shall transmit them to the other contracting States.

In witness whereof, the above mentioned Plenipotentiaries sign the present Convention in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French and hereunto affix their respective seals, at the City of Buenos Aires, Capital of the Argentine Republic, on the twenty-third day of the month of December, nineteen hundred and thirty-six.

Reservation of Paraguay: "With the express and definite reservation in respect to its peculiar international position as regards the League of Nations".

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
José María Cantilo,
Felipe A. Espil,
Leopoldo Melo,
Isidoro Ruiz Moreno,
Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros.

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez.

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
Julián López Pineda.

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes.

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
Gustavo Herrera,
Alberto Zérega Fombona.

Peru:

Carlos Concha,
Alberto Ulloa,
Felipe Barreda Laos,
Diómedes Arias Schreiber.

El Salvador:

Manuel Castro Ramírez,
Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

Mexico:

Francisco Castillo Nájera,
Alfonso Reyes,
Ramón Beteta,
Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
José de Paula Rodrigues Alves,
Helio Lobo,
Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,
Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça,
Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
María Luiza Bittencourt,

Uruguay:

Pedro Manini Ríos.
Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
Felipe Ferreiro,
Abalcázar García,
Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso,
Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

Guatemala:

Carlos Salazar,
José A. Medrano,
Alfonso Carrillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
José María Moncada,
Modesto Valle.

Dominican Republic:

Max Henríquez Ureña,
Tulio M. Cestero,
Enrique Jiménez,

Colombia:

Jorge Soto del Corral,
Miguel López Pumarejo,

Colombia—Continued.

Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
 Alberto Lleras Camargo,
 José Ignacio Díaz Granados.

Panama:

Harmodio Arias M.,
 Julio J. Fábrega,
 Eduardo Chiari.

United States of America:

Cordell Hull,
 Sumner Welles,
 Alexander W. Weddell,
 Adolf A. Berle, Jr.,
 Alexander F. Whitney,
 Charles G. Fenwick,
 Michael Francis Doyle,
 Elise F. Musser.

Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
 Luis Barros Borgoño,
 Félix Nieto del Río,
 Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
 Antonio Pons,
 José Gabriel Navarro,
 Francisco Guarderas,

Bolivia:

Enrique Finot,
 David Alvéstegui,
 Carlos Romero,

Haiti:

H. Pauleus Sannon,
 Camille J. León,
 Elie Lescot,
 Edmé Manigat,
 Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse,
 Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
Ramón Zaydin,
Carlos Márquez Sterling,
Rafael Santos Jiménez,
César Salaya,
Calixto Whitmarsh,
José Manuel Carbonell.

Appendix 16

ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL RELATIVE TO
NON-INTERVENTION

The Governments represented at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace,

Desiring to assure the benefits of peace in their mutual relations and in their relations with all the nations of the earth, and to abolish the practice of intervention; and

Taking into account that the Convention on Rights and Duties of States, signed at the Seventh International Conference of American States, December 26, 1933, solemnly affirmed the fundamental principle that "no State has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another",

Have resolved to reaffirm this principle through the negotiation of the following Additional Protocol, and to that end they have appointed the Plenipotentiaries hereafter mentioned:

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
José María Cantilo,
Felipe A. Espil,
Leopoldo Melo,
Isidoro Ruiz Moreno,
Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros.

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez.

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
Julian López Pineda.

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes.

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
Gustavo Herrera,
Alberto Zerega Fombona.

Peru:

Carlos Concha,
Alberto Ulloa,
Felipe Barreda Laos,
Diómedes Arias Schreiber.

El Salvador:

Manuel Castro Ramírez,
Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

Mexico:

Francisco Castillo Nájera,
Alfonso Reyes,
Ramón Beteta,
Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
Oswaldo Aranha,
José de Paula Rodrigues Alves,
Helio Lobo,
Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,
Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça,
Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
Maria Luiza Bittencourt.

Uruguay:

José Espalter,
Pedro Manini Ríos,
Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
Juan Antonio Buero,

Uruguay—Continued.

Felipe Ferreiro,
Andrés F. Puyol,
Abalcázar García
José G. Antuña,
Julio César Cerdeiras,
Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

Guatemala:

Carlos Salazar,
José A. Medrano,
Alfonso Carrillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
José María Moncada,
Modesto Valle.

Dominican Republic:

Max Henríquez Ureña,
Tulio M. Cestero,
Enrique Jiménez.

Colombia:

Jorge Soto del Corral,
Miguel López Pumarejo,
Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
Alberto Lleras Camargo,
José Ignacio Díaz Granados.

Panama:

Harmodio Arias M.,
Julio Fábrega,
Eduardo Chiari.

United States of America:

Cordell Hull,
Sumner Welles,
Alexander W. Weddell,
Adolf A. Berle, Jr.,
Alexander F. Whitney,
Charles G. Fenwick,
Michael Francis Doyle,
Elise F. Musser.

Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
 Luis Barros Borgoño,
 Felix Nieto del Río,
 Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
 Antonio Pons,
 José Gabriel Navarro,
 Francisco Guarderas,
 Eduardo Salazar Gómez.

Bolivia:

Enrique Finot,
 David Alvéstegui,
 Eduardo Diez de Medina,
 Alberto Ostria Gutiérrez,
 Carlos Romero,
 Alberto Cortadellas,
 Javier Paz Campero.

Haiti:

Horacio Pauleus Sannon,
 Camille J. Léon,
 Elie Lescot,
 Edmé Manigat,
 Pierre Eugene de Lespinasse,
 Clemente Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
 Ramón Zaydin,
 Carlos Márquez Sterling,
 Rafael Santos Jiménez,
 César Salaya,
 Calixto Whitmarsh,
 José Manuel Carbonell.

Who, after having deposited their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1.—The High Contracting Parties declare inadmissible the intervention of any one of them, directly or indirectly, and for whatever reason, in the internal or external affairs of any other of the Parties.

The violation of the provisions of this Article shall give rise to mutual consultation, with the object of exchanging views and seeking methods of peaceful adjustment.

ARTICLE 2.—It is agreed that every question concerning the interpretation of the present Additional Protocol, which it has not been possible to settle through diplomatic channels, shall be submitted to the procedure of conciliation provided for in the agreements in force, or to arbitration, or to judicial settlement.

ARTICLE 3.—The present Additional Protocol shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties in conformity with their respective constitutional procedures. The original instrument and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic which shall communicate the ratifications to the other signatories. The Additional Protocol shall come into effect between the High Contracting Parties in the order in which they shall have deposited their ratifications.

ARTICLE 4.—The present Additional Protocol shall remain in effect indefinitely but may be denounced by means of one year's notice after the expiration of which period the Protocol shall cease in its effects as regards the party which denounces it but shall remain in effect for the remaining Signatory States. Denunciations shall be addressed to the Government of the Argentine Republic which shall notify them to the other Contracting States.

In witness whereof, the above mentioned Plenipotentiaries sign the present Additional Protocol in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French and hereunto affix their respective seals, at the City of Buenos Aires, Capital of the Argentine Republic, on the twenty-third day of the month of December, nineteen hundred and thirty-six.

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
José María Cantilo,
Felipe A. Espil,
Leopoldo Melo,
Isidoro Ruiz Moreno,
Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros.

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez.

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
Julián López Pineda.

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes.

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
Gustavo Herrera,
Alberto Zérega Fombona.

Peru:

Carlos Concha,
Alberto Ulloa,
Felipe Barreda Laos,
Diómedes Arias Schreiber.

El Salvador:

Manuel Castro Ramírez,
Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

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Francisco Castillo Nájera,
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Ramón Beteta,
Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
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Helio Lobo,
Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,
Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça,
Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
María Luiza Bittencourt.

Uruguay:

Pedro Manini Ríos,
Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
Felipe Ferreiro,
Abalcázar García,
Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso,
Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

Guatemala:

Carlos Salazar,
José A. Medrano,
Alfonso Carrillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
José María Moncada,
Modesto Valle.

Dominican Republic:

Max Henríquez Ureña,
Tulio M. Cestero,
Enrique Jiménez,

Colombia:

Jorge Soto del Corral,
Miguel López Pumarejo,
Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
Alberto Lleras Camargo,
José Ignacio Díaz Granados.

Panama:

Harmodio Arias M.,
Julio J. Fábrega,
Eduardo Chiari.

United States of America:

Cordell Hull,
Sumner Welles,
Alexander W. Weddell,
Adolf A. Berle, Jr.,
Alexander F. Whitney,
Charles G. Fenwick,
Michael Francis Doyle,
Elise F. Musser.

Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
Luis Barros Borgoño,
Félix Nieto del Río,
Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
 Antonio Pons,
 José Gabriel Navarro,
 Francisco Guarderas,

Bolivia:

Enrique Finot,
 David Alvéstegui,
 Carlos Romero,

Haiti:

H. Pauleus Sannon,
 Camille J. León,
 Elie Lescot,
 Edmé Manigat,
 Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse,
 Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina.
 Ramón Zaydin,
 Carlos Márquez Sterling,
 Rafael Santos Jiménez,
 César Salaya,
 Calixto Whitmarsh,
 José Manuel Carbonell.

Appendix 17

CONVENTION TO COORDINATE, EXTEND AND ASSURE THE
 FULFILLMENT OF THE EXISTING TREATIES BETWEEN
 THE AMERICAN STATES

The Governments represented at the Inter-American Conference for
 the Maintenance of Peace,

Animated by a desire to promote the maintenance of general peace
 in their mutual relations;

Appreciating the advantages derived and to be derived from the
 various agreements already entered into condemning war and pro-
 viding methods for the pacific settlement of international disputes;

Recognizing the need for placing the greatest restrictions upon
 resort to war; and

Believing that for this purpose it is desirable to conclude a new convention to coordinate, extend and assure the fulfillment of existing agreements, have appointed plenipotentiaries as follows:

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
José María Cantilo.
Felipe A. Espil,
Leopoldo Melo,
Isidoro Ruiz Moreno,
Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros,

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
Julián López Pineda,

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes,

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
Gustavo Herrera,
Alberto Zérega Fombona

Peru:

Carlos Concha,
Alberto Ulloa,
Felipe Barreda Laos.
Diómedes Arias Schreiber

El Salvador:

Manuel Castro Ramírez,
Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

Mexico:

Francisco Castillo Nájera,
Alfonso Reyes,
Ramón Beteta,
Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
Oswaldo Aranha,
José de Paula Rodrigues Alves,
Helio Lobo,
Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,
Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça,
Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
María Luiza Bittencourt.

Uruguay:

José Espalter,
Pedro Manini Ríos,
Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
Juan Antonio Buero,
Felipe Ferreiro,
Andrés F. Puyol,
Abalcázar García,
José G. Antuña,
Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso,
Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

Guatemala:

Carlos Salazar,
José A. Medrano,
Alfonso Carrillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
José María Moncada,
Modesto Valle.

Dominican Republic:

Max Henríquez Ureña,
Tulio M. Cestero,
Enrique Jiménez.

Colombia:

Jorge Soto del Corral,
Miguel López Pumarejo,
Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
Alberto Lleras Camargo,
José Ignacio Díaz Granados,

Panama:

Harmodio Arias M.,
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Elise F. Musser.

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Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
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Félix Nieto del Río,
Ricardo Montaner Bello.

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Humberto Albornoz,
Antonio Pons,
José Gabriel Navarro,
Francisco Guarderas,
Eduardo Salazar Gómez.

Bolivia:

Enrique Finot,
David Alvéstegui,
Eduardo Díez de Medina,
Alberto Ostria Gutiérrez,
Carlos Romero,
Alberto Cortadellas,
Javier Paz Campero.

Haiti:

H. Pauleus Sannon,
 Camille J. León,
 Elie Lescot,
 Edmée Manigat,
 Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse,
 Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
 Ramón Zaydin,
 Carlos Márquez Sterling,
 Rafael Santos Jiménez,
 César Salaya,
 Calixto Whitmarsh,
 José Manuel Carbonell.

Who, after having deposited their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following provisions:

ARTICLE 1.—Taking into consideration that, by the Treaty to Avoid and Prevent Conflicts between the American States, signed at Santiago, May 3, 1923, (known as the Gondra Treaty) the High Contracting Parties agree that all controversies which it has been impossible to settle through diplomatic channels or to submit to arbitration in accordance with existing treaties shall be submitted for investigation and report to a Commission of Inquiry;

That by the Treaty for the Renunciation of War, signed at Paris on August 28, 1928 (known as the Kellogg-Briand Pact, or Pact of Paris) the High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another;

That by the General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation, signed at Washington, January 5, 1929, the High Contracting Parties agree to submit to the procedure of conciliation all controversies between them, which it may not have been possible to settle through diplomatic channels, and to establish a "Commission of Conciliation" to carry out the obligations assumed in the Convention;

That by the General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration, signed at Washington, January 5, 1929, the High Contracting Parties bind themselves to submit to arbitration, subject to certain exceptions, all differences between them of an international character, which it has not been possible to adjust by diplomacy and which are juridical in their nature by reason of being susceptible of decision by the applica-

tion of the principles of law, and moreover, to create a procedure of arbitration to be followed; and

That by the Treaty of Non-Aggression and Conciliation, signed at Rio de Janeiro October 10, 1933, (known as the Saavedra Lamas Treaty), the High Contracting Parties solemnly declare that they condemn wars of aggression in their mutual relations or in those with other states and that the settlement of disputes or controversies between them shall be effected only by pacific means which have the sanction of international law, and also declare that as between them territorial questions must not be settled by violence, and that they will not recognize any territorial arrangement not obtained by pacific means, nor the validity of the occupation or acquisition of territories brought about by force of arms, and, moreover, in a case of non-compliance with these obligations, the contracting states undertake to adopt, in their character as neutrals, a common and solidary attitude and to exercise the political, juridical or economic means authorized by international law, and to bring the influence of public opinion to bear, without, however, resorting to intervention, either diplomatic or armed, subject nevertheless to the attitude that may be incumbent upon them by virtue of their collective treaties; and, furthermore, undertake to create a procedure of conciliation;

The High Contracting Parties reaffirm the obligations entered into to settle, by pacific means, controversies of an international character that may arise between them.

ARTICLE 2.—The High Contracting Parties, convinced of the necessity for the co-operation and consultation provided for in the Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation and Reestablishment of Peace signed by them on this same day, agree that in all matters which affect peace on the Continent, such consultation and co-operation shall have as their object to assist, through the tender of friendly good offices and of mediation, the fulfilment by the American Republics of existing obligations for pacific settlement, and to take counsel together, with full recognition of their juridical equality, as sovereign and independent states, and of their general right to individual liberty of action, when an emergency arises which affects their common interest in the maintenance of peace.

ARTICLE 3.—In case of threat of war, the High Contracting Parties shall apply the provisions contained in Articles 1 and 2 of the Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation and Reestablishment of Peace, above referred to, it being understood that, while such consultation is in progress and for a period of not more than six months, the parties in dispute will not have recourse to hostilities or take any military action whatever.

ARTICLE 4.—The High Contracting Parties further agree that, in the event of a dispute between two or more of them, they will seek to

settle it in a spirit of mutual regard for their respective rights, having recourse for this purpose to direct diplomatic negotiation or to the alternative procedures of mediation, commissions of inquiry, commissions of conciliation, tribunals of arbitration, and courts of justice, as provided in the treaties to which they may be parties; and they also agree that, should it be impossible to settle the dispute by diplomatic negotiation and should the States in dispute have recourse to the other procedures provided in the present Article, they will report this fact and the progress of the negotiations to the other signatory States. These provisions do not affect controversies already submitted to a diplomatic or juridical procedure by virtue of special agreements.

ARTICLE 5.—The High Contracting Parties agree that, in the event that the methods provided by the present Convention or by agreements previously concluded should fail to bring about a pacific settlement of differences that may arise between any two or more of them, and hostilities should break out between two or more of them, they shall be governed by the following stipulations:

(a) They shall, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Non-Aggression and Conciliation (Saavedra Lamas Treaty), adopt in their character as neutrals a common and solidary attitude; and shall consult immediately with one another, and take cognizance of the outbreak of hostilities in order to determine either jointly or individually, whether such hostilities shall be regarded as constituting a state of war so as to call into effect the provisions of the present Convention.

(b) It is understood that, in regard to the question whether hostilities actually in progress constitute a state of war, each of the High Contracting Parties shall reach a prompt decision. In any event, should hostilities be actually in progress between two or more of the Contracting Parties, or between two or more signatory States not at the time parties to this Convention by reason of failure to ratify it, each Contracting Party shall take notice of the situation and shall adopt such an attitude as would be consistent with other multilateral treaties to which it is a party or in accordance with its municipal legislation. Such action shall not be deemed an unfriendly act on the part of any state affected thereby.

ARTICLE 6.—Without prejudice to the universal principles of neutrality provided for in the case of an international war outside of America and without affecting the duties contracted by those American States members of the League of Nations, the High Contracting Parties reaffirm their loyalty to the principles enunciated in the five agreements referred to in Article 1, and they agree that in the case of an outbreak of hostilities or threat of an outbreak of hostilities between two or more of them, they shall, through consultation, immediately endeavor to adapt in their character as neutrals a common

and solidary attitude, in order to discourage or prevent the spread or prolongation of hostilities.

With this object, and having in mind the diversity of cases and circumstances, they may consider the imposition of prohibitions or restrictions on the sale or shipment of arms, munitions and implements of war, loans or other financial help to the states in conflict, in accordance with the municipal legislation of the High Contracting Parties, and without detriment to their obligations derived from other treaties to which they are or may become parties.

ARTICLE 7.—Nothing contained in the present Convention shall be understood as affecting the rights and duties of the High Contracting Parties which are at the same time members of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 8.—The present Convention shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties in accordance with their constitutional procedures. The original convention and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic, which shall communicate the ratifications to the other Signatory States. It shall come into effect when ratifications have been deposited by not less than eleven Signatory States.

The Convention shall remain in force indefinitely; but it may be denounced by any of the High Contracting Parties, such denunciation to be effective one year after the date upon which such notification has been given. Notices of denunciation shall be communicated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic which shall transmit copies thereof to the other Signatory States. Denunciation shall not be regarded as valid if the Party making such denunciation shall be actually in a state of war, or shall be engaged in hostilities without fulfilling the provisions established by this Convention.

In witness whereof, the Plenipotentiaries above mentioned have signed this Treaty in English, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, and have affixed thereto their respective seals, in the City of Buenos Aires, Capital of the Argentine Republic, this twenty-third day of December, of the year 1936.

RESERVATIONS:

Reservation of the Argentine Delegation:

(1.) In no case, under Article VI, can foodstuffs or raw materials destined for the civil populations of belligerent countries be considered as contraband of war, nor shall there exist any duty to prohibit credits for the acquisition of said foodstuffs or raw materials which have the destination indicated.

With reference to the embargo on arms, each Nation may reserve freedom of action in the face of a war of aggression.

Reservation of the Delegation of Paraguay:

(2.) In no case, under Article VI, can foodstuffs or raw materials destined for the civil populations of belligerent countries be considered as contraband of war, nor shall there exist any duty to prohibit credits for the acquisition of said foodstuffs or raw materials which have the destination indicated.

With reference to the embargo on arms, each Nation may reserve freedom of action in the face of a war of aggression.

Reservation of the Delegation of El Salvador:

(3.) With reservation with respect to the idea of continental solidarity when confronted by foreign aggression.

Reservation of the Delegation of Colombia:

(4.) In signing this Convention, the Delegation of Colombia understands that the phrase "in their character as neutrals," which appears in Articles V and VI, implies a new concept of international law which allows a distinction to be drawn between the aggressor and the attacked, and to treat them differently. At the same time, the Delegation of Colombia considers it necessary, in order to assure the full and effective application of this Pact, to set down in writing the following definition of the aggressor:

That State shall be considered as an aggressor which becomes responsible for one or several of the following acts:

a) That its armed forces, to whatever branch they may belong, illegally cross the land, sea or air frontiers of other States. When the violation of the territory of a State has been effected by irresponsible bands organized within or outside of its territory and which have received direct or indirect help from another State, such violation shall be considered equivalent, for the purposes of the present Article, to that effected by the regular forces of the State responsible for the aggression;

b) That it has intervened in a unilateral or illegal way in the internal or external affairs of another State;

c) That it has refused to fulfil a legally given arbitral decision or sentence of international justice.

No consideration of any kind, whether political, military, economic or of any other kind, may serve as an excuse or justification for the aggression here anticipated.

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
José María Cantilo,

Argentina—Continued.

Felipe A. Espil,
Leopoldo Melo,
Isidoro Ruiz Moreno,
Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros.

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez.

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
Julián López Pineda.

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes.

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
Gustavo Herrera,
Alberto Zérega Fombona.

Peru:

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Alberto Ulloa,
Felipe Barreda Laos,
Diómedes Arias Schreiber.

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Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

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Ramón Beteta,
Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
José de Paula Rodrigues Alves,
Helio Lobo,

Brazil—Continued.

Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,
 Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
 Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça,
 Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
 Maria Luiza Bittencourt.

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 Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
 Felipe Ferreira,
 Abalcázar García,
 Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso,
 Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

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Carlos Salazar,
 José A. Medrano,
 Alfonso Carrillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
 José María Moncada,
 Modesto Valle.

Dominican Republic:

Max Henríquez Ureña,
 Tulio M. Cestero,
 Enrique Jiménez,

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Jorge Soto del Corral,
 Miguel López Pumarejo,
 Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
 Alberto Lleras Camargo,
 José Ignacio Díaz Granados.

Panama:

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 Julio J. Fábrega,
 Eduardo Chiari.

United States of America:

Cordell Hull,
 Sumner Welles,
 Alexander W. Weddell,

United States of America—Continued.

Adolf A. Berle, Jr.,
Alexander F. Whitney,
Charles G. Fenwick,
Michael Francis Doyle,
Elise F. Musser.

Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
Luis Barros Borgoño,
Félix Nieto del Río,
Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
Antonio Pons,
José Gabriel Navarro,
Francisco Guarderas,

Bolivia:

Enrique Finot,
David Alvéstegui,
Carlos Romero,

Haiti:

H. Pauleus Sannon,
Camille J. León,
Elie Lescot,
Edmé Manigat,
Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse,
Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
Ramon Zaydin,
Carlos Márquez Sterling,
Rafael Santos Jiménez,
César Salaya,
Calixto Whitmarsh,
José Manuel Carbonell.

Appendix 18

TREATY ON THE PREVENTION OF CONTROVERSIES

The Governments represented at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace,

In order to adopt, in the interest of the maintenance of international peace so far as may be attainable, a preventive system for the consideration of possible causes of future controversies and their settlement by pacific means; and

Convinced that whatever assures and facilitates compliance with the treaties in force constitutes an effective guarantee of international peace,

Have agreed to conclude a treaty and to this effect have named the following plenipotentiaries:

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
José María Cantilo,
Felipe A. Espil,
Leopoldo Melo,
Isidoro Ruiz Moreno.
Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros.

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez.

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
Julián López Pineda.

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes.

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
Gustavo Herrera,
Alberto Zérega Fombona.

Peru:

Carlos Concha,
Alberto Ulloa,
Felipe Barreda Laos,
Diómedes Arias Schreiber.

El Salvador:

Manuel Castro Ramírez,
Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

Mexico:

Francisco Castillo Nájera,
Alfonso Reyes,
Ramón Beteta,
Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
Oswaldo Aranha,
José de Paula Rodrigues Alves,
Helio Lobo,
Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,
Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça,
Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
María Luiza Bittencourt.

Uruguay:

José Espalter,
Pedro Manini Ríos,
Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
Juan Antonio Buero,
Felipe Ferreiro,
Andrés F. Puyol,
Abalcázar García,
José G. Antuña,
Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso,
Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

Guatemala:

Carlos Salazar,
José A. Medrano,
Alfonso Carrillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
 José María Moncada,
 Modesto Valle.

Dominican Republic:

Max Henríquez Ureña,
 Tulio M. Cestero,
 Enrique Jiménez.

Colombia:

Jorge Soto del Corral,
 Miguel López Pumarejo,
 Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
 Alberto Lleras Camargo,
 José Ignacio Díaz Granados.

Panama:

Harmodio Arias M.,
 Julio J. Fábrega,
 Eduardo Chiari.

United States of America:

Cordell Hull,
 Sumner Welles,
 Alexander W. Weddell,
 Adolf A. Berle, Jr.,
 Alexander F. Whitney,
 Charles G. Fenwick,
 Michael Francis Doyle,
 Elise F. Musser.

Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal
 Luis Barros Borgoño,
 Félix Nieto del Río,
 Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
 Antonio Pons,
 José Gabriel Navarro,
 Francisco Guarderas,
 Eduardo Salazar Gómez.

Bolivia:

Enrique Finot,
David Alvéstegui,
Eduardo Díez de Medina.
Alberto Ostria Gutiérrez,
Carlos Romero,
Alberto Cortadellas,
Javier Paz Campero.

Haiti:

H. Pauleus Sannon,
Camille J. León,
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Edmé Manigat,
Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse,
Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
Ramón Zaydin,
Carlos Márquez Sterling,
Rafael Santos Jiménez,
César Salaya,
Calixto Whitmarsh,
José Manuel Carbonell.

Who, after having deposited their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ART. 1.—The High Contracting Parties bind themselves to establish permanent bilateral mixed commissions composed of representatives of the signatory governments which shall in fact be constituted, at the request of any of them, and such party shall give notice of such request to the other signatory governments.

Each Government shall appoint its own representative to the said commission, the meetings of which are to be held, alternatively, in the capital city of one and the other Governments represented in each of them. The first meeting shall be held at the seat of the Government which convokes it.

ART. 2.—The duty of the aforementioned commissions shall be to study, with the primary object of eliminating them, as far as possible, the causes of future difficulties or controversies; and to propose additional or detailed lawful measures which it might be convenient to take in order to promote, as far as possible, the due and regular application of treaties in force between the respective parties, and also to promote the development of increasingly good relations in all ways between the two countries dealt with in each case.

ART. 3.—After each meeting of any of the said preventive Commissions a minute shall be drawn and signed by its members setting out the considerations and decisions thereof and such minute shall be transmitted to the governments represented in the commissions.

ART. 4.—The present treaty shall not affect obligations previously entered into by the High Contracting Parties by virtue of international agreements.

ART. 5.—The present Treaty shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties in conformity with their respective constitutional procedures. The original instrument shall be deposited in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic which shall transmit authentic certified copies to the Governments for the aforementioned purpose of ratification. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan American Union in Washington, which shall notify the signatory Governments of said deposit. Such notification shall be considered as an exchange of ratifications.

ART. 6.—The present Treaty will come into effect between the High Contracting Parties in the order in which they deposit their respective ratifications.

ART. 7.—The present Treaty shall remain in effect indefinitely but may be denounced by means of one year's notice given to the Pan American Union, which shall transmit it to the other signatory governments. After the expiration of this period the Treaty shall cease in its effects as regards the party which denounces it but shall remain in effect for the remaining High Contracting Parties.

In witness whereof, the above mentioned Plenipotentiaries sign the present Treaty in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French and hereunto affix their respective seals, at the City of Buenos Aires, Capital of the Argentine Republic, on the twenty-third day of the month of December, 1936.

Reservation of the delegation of Peru

Peru adheres to the above proposal with a reservation to Article 1 in the sense that it understands that recourse to the bilateral mixed commission is not mandatory but optional.

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
José María Cantilo,
Felipe A. Espil,
Leopoldo Melo,
Isidoro Ruiz Moreno,

Argentina—Continued.

Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros.

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez.

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
Julián López Pineda.

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes.

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
Gustavo Herrera,
Alberto Zérega Fombona.

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Carlos Concha,
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Ramón Beteta,
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Helio Lobo,
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Brazil—Continued.

Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça,
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 Tulio M. Cestero,
 Enrique Jiménez,

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Jorge Soto del Corral,
 Miguel López Pumarejo,
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 Alberto Lleras Camargo,
 José Ignacio Díaz Granados.

Panama:

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 Eduardo Chiari.

United States of America:

Cordell Hull,
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 Alexander W. Weddell,
 Adolf A. Berle, Jr.,

United States of America—Continued.

Alexander F. Whitney,
Charles G. Fenwick,
Michael Francis Doyle,
Elise F. Musser.

Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
Luis Barros Borgoño,
Félix Nieto del Río,
Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
Antonio Pons,
José Gabriel Navarro,
Francisco Guarderas,

Bolivia:

Enrique Finot,
David Alvéstegui,
Carlos Romero,

Haiti:

H. Pauleus Sannon,
Camille J. León,
Elie Lescot,
Edmé Manigat,
Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse,
Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
Ramón Zaydin,
Carlos Márquez Sterling,
Rafael Santos Jiménez,
César Salaya,
Calixto Whitmarsh,
José Manuel Carbonell.

Appendix 19

INTER-AMERICAN TREATY ON GOOD OFFICES AND
MEDIATION

The Governments represented at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace;

Considering that, notwithstanding the pacts which have been concluded between them, it is desirable to facilitate, even more, recourse to peaceful methods for the solution of controversies,

Have resolved to celebrate a treaty of Good Offices and Mediation between the American Countries, and to this end have named the following Plenipotentiaries:

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
José María Cantilo,
Felipe A. Espil,
Leopoldo Melo,
Isidoro Ruiz Moreno.
Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros.

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez.

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
Julián López Pineda.

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes.

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
Gustavo Herrera,
Alberto Zérega Fombona.

Peru:

Carlos Concha,
Alberto Ulloa,
Felipe Barrada Laos,
Diómedes Arias Schreiber.

El Salvador:

Manuel Castro Ramírez,
Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

Mexico:

Francisco Castillo Nájera,
Alfonso Reyes,
Ramón Beteta,
Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
Oswaldo Aranha,
José de Paula Rodrigues Alves,
Helio Lobo,
Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,
Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça,
Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
María Luiza Bittencourt.

Uruguay:

José Espalter,
Pedro Manini Ríos,
Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
Juan Antonio Buero,
Felipe Ferreiro,
Andrés F. Puyol,
Abalcázar García,
José G. Antuña,
Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso,
Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

Guatemala:

Carlos Salazar,
José A. Medrano,
Alfonso Carrillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
José María Moncada,
Modesto Valle.

Dominican Republic:

Max Henríquez Ureña,
Tulio M. Cestero,
Enrique Jiménez.

Colombia:

Jorge Soto del Corral,
 Miguel López Pumarejo,
 Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
 Alberto Lleras Camargo,
 José Ignacio Díaz Granados.

Panama:

Harmodio Arias M.,
 Julio J. Fábrega,
 Eduardo Chiari.

United States of America:

Cordell Hull,
 Sumner Welles,
 Alexander W. Weddell,
 Adolf A. Berle, Jr.,
 Alexander F. Whitney,
 Charles G. Fenwick,
 Michael Francis Doyle,
 Elise F. Musser.

Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
 Luis Barros Borgoño,
 Félix Nieto del Río,
 Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
 Antonio Pons,
 José Gabriel Navarro,
 Francisco Guarderas,
 Eduardo Salazar Gómez.

Bolivia:

Enrique Finot,
 David Alvéstegui,
 Eduardo Díez de Medina.
 Alberto Ostria Gutiérrez,
 Carlos Romero,
 Alberto Cortadellas,
 Javier Paz Campero.

Haiti:

H. Pauleus Sannon,
Camille J. León,
Elie Lescot,
Edmé Manigat,
Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse,
Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
Ramón Zaydin,
Carlos Márquez Sterling,
Rafael Santos Jiménez,
César Salaya,
Calixto Whitmarsh,
José Manuel Carbonell.

Who, after having deposited their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ART. I.—When a controversy arises between them, that cannot be settled by the usual diplomatic means, the High Contracting Parties may have recourse to the good offices or mediation of an eminent citizen of any of the other American countries, preferably chosen from a general list made up in accordance with the following article.

ART. II.—To prepare the aforementioned list, each Government, as soon as the present treaty is ratified, shall name two citizens selected from among the most eminent by reason of their high character and juridical learning.

The designations shall immediately be communicated to the Pan American Union, which shall prepare the list and shall forward copies thereof to the contracting parties.

ART. III.—According to the hypothesis set forth in Article I, the countries in controversy shall, by common agreement, select one of the persons named on this list, for the purposes indicated in this treaty.

The person selected shall name the place where, under his chairmanship, one duly authorized representative of each of the parties shall meet in order to seek a peaceful and equitable solution of the difference.

If the parties are unable to agree concerning the selection of the person lending his good offices or mediation, each one shall choose one of those named on the list. The two citizens chosen in this way shall select, from among the names listed, a third person who shall undertake the functions referred to, endeavoring, in so far as possible, to make a choice that shall be acceptable to both parties.

ART. IV.—The mediator shall determine a period of time, not to exceed six nor be less than three months for the parties to arrive at some peaceful settlement. Should this period expire before the parties have reached some solution, the controversy shall be submitted to the procedure of conciliation provided for in existing inter-American agreements.

ART. V.—During the procedure established in this Treaty each of the interested parties shall provide for its own expense and shall contribute equally to common costs or honoraria.

ART. VI.—The present Treaty shall not affect obligations previously entered into by the High Contracting Parties by virtue of international agreements.

ART. VII.—The present Treaty shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties in conformity with their respective constitutional procedures. The original instrument shall be deposited in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic which shall transmit authentic certified copies to the Governments for the aforementioned purpose of ratification. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan American Union in Washington, which shall notify the signatory governments of said deposit. Such notification shall be considered as an exchange of ratifications.

ART. VIII.—The present Treaty will come into effect between the High Contracting Parties in the order in which they deposit their respective ratifications.

ART. IX.—The present Treaty shall remain in effect indefinitely but may be denounced by means of one year's notice given to the Pan American Union, which shall transmit it to the other signatory Governments. After the expiration of this period the Treaty shall cease in its effects as regards the Party which denounces it, but shall remain in effect for the remaining High Contracting Parties.

In witness whereof, the above mentioned Plenipotentiaries sign the present Treaty in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French, and hereunto affix their respective seals, at the City of Buenos Aires, Capital of the Argentine Republic, on the twenty-third day of the month of December, 1936.

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
José María Cantilo,
Felipe A. Espil,
Leopoldo Melo,

Argentina—Continued.

Isidoro Ruiz Moreno,
Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros.

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez.

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
Julián López Pineda.

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes.

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
Gustavo Herrera,
Alberto Zérega Fombona.

Peru:

Carlos Concha,
Alberto Ulloa,
Felipe Barreda Laos,
Diómedes Arias Schreiber.

El Salvador:

Manuel Castro Ramírez,
Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

Mexico:

Francisco Castillo Nájera,
Alfonso Reyes,
Ramón Beteta,
Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
José de Paula Rodrigues Alves,
Helio Lobo,
Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,

Brazil—Continued.

Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça,
Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
María Luiza Bittencourt.

Uruguay:

Pedro Manini Ríos,
Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
Felipe Ferreiro,
Abalcázar García,
Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso,
Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

Guatemala:

Carlos Salazar,
José A. Medrano,
Alfonso Carrillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
José María Moncada,
Modesto Valle.

Dominican Republic:

Max Henríquez Ureña,
Tulio M. Cestero,
Enrique Jiménez,

Colombia:

Jorge Soto del Corral,
Miguel López Pumarejo,
Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
Alberto Lleras Camargo,
José Ignacio Díaz Granados.

Panama:

Harmodio Arias M.,
Julio J. Fábrega,
Eduardo Chiari.

United States of America:

Cordell Hull,
Sumner Welles,
Alexander W. Weddell,

United States of America—Continued.

Adolf A. Berle, Jr.,
Alexander F. Whitney,
Charles G. Fenwick,
Michael Francis Doyle,
Elise F. Musser.

Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
Luis Barros Borgoño,
Félix Nieto del Río,
Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
Antonio Pons,
José Gabriel Navarro,
Francisco Guarderas,

Bolivia:

Enrique Finot,
David Alvéstegui,
Carlos Romero,

Haiti:

H. Pauleus Sannon,
Camille J. León,
Elie Lescot,
Edmé Manigat,
Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse,
Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
Ramón Zaydin,
Carlos Márquez Sterling,
Rafael Santos Jiménez,
César Salaya,
Calixto Whitmarsh,
José Manuel Carbonell.

Appendix 20

CONVENTION ON THE PAN AMERICAN HIGHWAY

The Governments represented at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace,

Cognizant of the fact that the primary purpose of the Inter-American Conference is the strengthening of the bonds of friendship already existing between the countries of this Continent;

Convinced that direct and material contact between the American peoples necessarily would strengthen those bonds, consolidating therefore the peace of the Continent;

Knowing that the general welfare will be greater when there is greater facility for the exchange of the products of said countries;

Considering, finally, that one of the most adequate and efficient means for the attainment of the moral and material end aimed at jointly by the American Republics, is the termination of a highway which establishes a permanent communication between their respective territories,

Have decided to conclude a convention on that subject and for such purpose, have appointed the following plenipotentiaries:

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
Felipe A. Espil,
Leopoldo Melo,
Isidoro Ruiz Moreno,
Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros.

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez,

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
Julián López Pineda.

Uruguay:

José Espalter,
Pedro Manini Ríos,
Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
Juan Antonio Buero,

Uruguay—Continued.

Felipe Ferreiro,
Andrés F. Puyol,
Abalcázar García,
José G. Antuña.
Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso.
Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes.

Guatemala:

Carlos Salazar,
José A. Medrano,
Alfonso Carrillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
José María Moncada,
Modesto Valle.

Dominican Republic:

Max Henríquez Ureña,
Tulio M. Cestero,
Enrique Jiménez.

Colombia:

Jorge Soto del Corral,
Miguel López Pumarejo,
Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
Alberto Lleras Camargo,
José Ignacio Díaz Granados.

Panama:

Harmodio Arias M.,
Julio J. Fábrega,
Eduardo Chiari.

United States of America:

Cordell Hull,
Sumner Welles,
Alexander W. Weddell,
Adolf A. Berle, Jr.,

United States of America—Continued.

Alexander F. Whitney,
 Charles G. Fenwick,
 Michael Francis Doyle,
 Elise F. Musser.

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
 Gustavo Herrera,
 Alberto Zérega Fombona.

Peru:

Carlos Concha,
 Alberto Ulloa,
 Felipe Barreda Laos,
 Diómedes Arias Schreiber.

El Salvador:

Manuel Castro Ramírez,
 Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

Mexico:

Francisco Castillo Nájera,
 Alfonso Reyes,
 Ramón Beteta,
 Juan Manuel Álvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
 Oswaldo Aranha,
 José de Paula Rodrigues Alves,
 Helio Lobo,
 Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,
 Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
 Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça,
 Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
 Maria Luiza Bittencourt.

Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
 Luis Barros Borgoño,
 Félix Nieto del Río,
 Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
Antonio Pons,
José Gabriel Navarro,
Francisco Guarderas,
Eduardo Salazar Gómez.

Bolivia:

David Alvéstegui,
Enrique Finot,
Eduardo Díez de Medina.
Alberto Ostria Gutiérrez,
Carlos Romero,
Alberto Cortadellas,
Javier Paz Campero.

Haiti:

H. Pauleus Sannon,
Camille J. León,
Elie Lescot,
Edmé Manigat,
Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse,
Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
Ramón Zaydin,
Carlos Márquez Sterling,
Rafael Santos Jiménez,
César Salaya,
Calixto Whitmarsh,
José Manuel Carbonell.

Who, after exhibiting their Full Powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ART. 1.—The High Contracting Parties agree to collaborate, with all diligence and by all adequate means, in the speedy completion of a Pan American Highway, which will permit at all times the transit of motor vehicles.

ART. 2.—The High Contracting Parties shall form a Commission of technical experts with the object of coordinating the work of the different governments and also to complete the studies and formulate the necessary projects in those countries which, not having heretofore completed this work, may need the cooperation of the Commission.

ART. 3.—Immediately after ratifying the present Convention, the High Contracting Parties shall consult among each other with a view to appointing a financial committee composed of the representatives of three of the ratifying Governments. This Committee shall study the problems concerning the speedy completion of the Pan American Highway, and within a period not more than six months from the date of its constitution shall submit a detailed report for the consideration of the Governments, accompanied by a plan for the solution of said problems.

ART. 4.—Finally the High Contracting Parties bind themselves to establish or designate at once in their respective territories at least one permanent public office, for the purpose of giving information on the work in progress, the sections of the Highway which are passable, the local transit regulations and all other information which nationals and tourists of the signatory countries may require.

ART. 5.—The present Convention shall not affect obligations previously entered into by the High Contracting Parties by virtue of international agreements.

ART. 6.—The present Convention shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties in conformity with their respective constitutional procedures. The original instrument shall be deposited in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic which shall transmit authentic certified copies to the Governments for the aforementioned purpose of ratification. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan American Union in Washington, which shall notify the signatory governments of said deposit. Such notification shall be considered as an exchange of ratifications.

ART. 7.—The present Convention will come into effect between the High Contracting Parties in the order in which they deposit their respective ratifications.

ART. 8.—The present Convention shall remain in effect indefinitely but may be denounced by means of one year's notice given to the Pan American Union, which shall transmit it to the other signatory governments. After the expiration of this period the Convention shall cease in its effects as regards the party which denounces it but shall remain in effect for the remaining High Contracting Parties.

ART. 9.—The present Convention shall be open for the adherence and accession of States which are not signatories. The corresponding instruments shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan American Union, which shall communicate them to the other High Contracting Parties.

In witness whereof, the above mentioned Plenipotentiaries sign the present Convention in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French, and hereunto affix their respective seals, at the City of Buenos Aires,

Capital of the Argentine Republic, on the twenty-third day of the month of December, 1936.

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
José María Cantilo,
Felipe A. Espil,
Leopoldo Melo,
Isidoro Ruiz Moreno,
Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros.

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez.

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
Julián López Pineda.

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes.

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
Gustavo Herrera,
Alberto Zérega Fombona.

Peru:

Carlos Concha,
Alberto Ulloa,
Felipe Barreda Laos,
Diómedes Arias Schreiber.

El Salvador:

Manuel Castro Ramírez,
Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

Mexico:

Francisco Castillo Nájera,
Alfonso Reyes,
Ramón Beteta,
Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
José de Paula Rodrigues Alves,
Helio Lobo,
Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,
Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça,
Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
María Luiza Bittencourt.

Uruguay:

Pedro Manini Ríos,
Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
Felipe Ferreiro,
Abalcázar García,
Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso,
Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

Guatemala:

Carlos Salazar,
José A. Medrano,
Alfonso Carrillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
José María Moncada,
Modesto Valle,

[Dominican Republic:]

Max Henríquez Ureña,
Tulio M. Cestero,
Enrique Jiménez,

Colombia:

Jorge Soto del Corral,
Miguel López Pumarejo,
Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
Alberto Lleras Camargo,
José Ignacio Díaz Granados.

Panama:

Harmodio Arias M.,
Julio J. Fábrega,
Eduardo Chiari.

United States of America:

Cordell Hull,
Sumner Welles,
Alexander W. Weddell,
Adolf A. Berle, Jr.,
Alexander F. Whitney,
Charles G. Fenwick,
Michael Francis Doyle,

Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
Luis Barros Borgoño,
Félix Nieto del Río,
Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
Antonio Pons,
José Gabriel Navarro,
Francisco Guarderas,

Bolivia:

Enrique Finot,
David Alvéstegui,
Carlos Romero,

Haiti:

H. Pauleus Sannon,
Camille J. León,
Elie Lescot,
Edmé Manigat,
Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse,
Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
Ramón Zaydin,
Carlos Márquez Sterling,
Rafael Santos Jiménez,
César Salaya,
Calixto Whitmarsh,
José Manuel Carbonell.

Appendix 21

CONVENTION FOR THE PROMOTION OF INTER-AMERICAN
CULTURAL RELATIONS

The Governments represented at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace;

Considering that the purpose for which the Conference was called would be advanced by greater mutual knowledge and understanding of the people and institutions of the countries represented and a more consistent educational solidarity on the American continent; and

That such results would be appreciably promoted by an exchange of professors, teachers and students among the American countries, as well as by the encouragement of a closer relationship between unofficial organizations which exert an influence on the formation of public opinion,

Have resolved to conclude a convention for that purpose and to that effect have designated the following plenipotentiaries:

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
José María Cantilo,
Felipe A. Espil,
Leopoldo Melo,
Isidoro Ruiz Moreno.
Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros.

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez.

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
Julián López Pineda.

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes.

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
Gustavo Herrera,
Alberto Zérega Fombona.

Peru:

Carlos Concha,
Alberto Ulloa,
Felipe Barreda Laos,
Diómedes Arias Schreiber.

El Salvador:

Manuel Castro Ramírez,
Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

Mexico:

Francisco Castillo Nájera
Alfonso Reyes,
Ramón Beteta,
Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
Oswaldo Aranha,
José de Paula Rodrigues Alves,
Helio Lobo,
Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,
Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça,
Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
María Luiza Bittencourt.

Uruguay:

José Espalter,
Pedro Manini Ríos,
Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
Juan Antonio Buero,
Felipe Ferreiro,
Andrés F. Puyol,
Abalcázar García,
José G. Antuña,
Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso,
Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

Guatemala:

Carlos Salazar,
José A. Medrano,
Alfonso Carrillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
 José María Moncada,
 Modesto Valle.

Dominican Republic:

Max Henríquez Ureña,
 Tulio M. Cestero,
 Enrique Jiménez.

Colombia:

Jorge Soto del Corral,
 Miguel López Pumarejo,
 Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
 Alberto Lleras Camargo,
 José Ignacio Díaz Granados.

Panama:

Harmodio Arias M.,
 Julio J. Fábrega,
 Eduardo Chiari.

United States of America:

Cordell Hull,
 Sumner Welles,
 Alexander W. Weddell,
 Adolf A. Berle, Jr.,
 Alexander F. Whitney,
 Charles G. Fenwick,
 Michael Francis Doyle,
 Elise F. Musser.

Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
 Luis Barros Borgoño,
 Félix Nieto del Río,
 Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
 Antonio Pons,
 José Gabriel Navarro,
 Francisco Guarderas,
 Eduardo Salazar Gómez.

Bolivia:

Enrique Finot,
David Alvéstegui,
Eduardo Díez de Medina.
Alberto Ostria Gutiérrez,
Carlos Romero,
Alberto Cortadellas,
Javier Paz Campero.

Haiti:

H. Pauleus Sannon,
Camille J. León,
Elie Lescot,
Edmé Manigat,
Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse,
Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
Ramón Zaydin,
Carlos Márquez Sterling,
Rafael Santos Jiménez,
César Salaya,
Calixto Whitmarsh,
José Manuel Carbonell.

Who, after having deposited their Full Powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I.—Every year each Government shall award to each of two graduate students or teachers of each other country selected in accordance with the procedure established in Article II hereof, a fellowship for the ensuing scholastic year. The awards shall be made after an exchange between the two Governments concerned of the panels referred to in Article II hereof. Each fellowship shall provide tuition and subsidiary expenses and maintenance at an institution of higher learning to be designated by the country awarding the fellowship, through such agency as may seem to it appropriate, in cooperation with the recipient so far as may be practicable. Traveling expenses to and from the designated institution and other incidental expenses shall be met by the recipient or the nominating Government. Furthermore, each Government agrees to encourage, by appropriate means, the interchange of students and teachers of institutions within its territory and those of the other contracting countries, during the usual vacation periods.

ARTICLE II.—Each Government shall have the privilege of nominating and presenting to each other Government on or before the date

fixed at the close of this article a panel of the names of five graduate students or teachers together with such information concerning them as the Government awarding the fellowship shall deem necessary, from which panel the latter Government shall select the names of two persons. The same students shall not be nominated for more than two successive years; and, except under unusual circumstances, for more than one year. There shall be no obligation for any country to give consideration to the panel of any other country not nominated and presented on or before the date fixed at the close of this article, and fellowships for which no panel of names is presented on or before the date specified may be awarded to applicants nominated on the panels of any other country but not receiving fellowships. Unless otherwise agreed upon between the countries concerned, the following dates shall prevail:

Countries of South America, November 30th.

All other countries, March 31st.

ARTICLE III.—If for any reason it becomes necessary that a student be repatriated the Government awarding the fellowship may effect the repatriation, at the expense of the nominating Government.

ARTICLE IV.—Each High Contracting Party shall communicate to each of the other High Contracting Parties through diplomatic channels, on the first of January of every alternate year, a complete list of the full professors available for exchange service from the outstanding universities, scientific institutions and technical schools of each country. From this list each one of the other High Contracting Parties shall arrange to select a visiting professor who shall either give lectures in various centers, or conduct regular courses of instruction, or pursue special research in some designated institution and who shall in other appropriate ways promote better understanding between the parties cooperating, it being understood, however, that preference shall be given to teaching rather than to research work. The sending Government shall provide the expenses for travel to and from the capital where the exchange professor resides and the maintenance and local travel expenses while carrying out the duties for which the professor was selected. Salaries of the professors shall be paid by the sending country.

ARTICLE V.—The High Contracting Parties agree that each Government shall designate or create an appropriate agency or appoint a special officer, charged with the responsibility of carrying out in the most efficient way possible the obligations assumed by such Government in this Convention.

ARTICLE VI.—Nothing in this convention shall be construed by the High Contracting Parties as obligating any one of them to interfere with the independence of its institutions of learning or with the freedom of academic teaching and administration therein.

ARTICLE VII.—Regulations concerning details for which it shall appear advisable to provide, shall be framed, in each of the contracting countries, by such agency as may seem appropriate to its Government, and copies of such regulations shall be promptly furnished, through the diplomatic channel, to the Governments of the other High Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE VIII.—The present Convention shall not affect obligations previously entered into by the High Contracting Parties by virtue of international agreements.

ARTICLE IX.—The present Convention shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties in conformity with their respective constitutional procedures. The original instrument shall be deposited in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic which shall transmit authentic certified copies to the Governments for the aforementioned purpose of ratification. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan American Union in Washington, which shall notify the signatory Governments of said deposit. Such notification shall be considered as an exchange of ratifications.

ARTICLE X.—The present Convention will come into effect between the High Contracting Parties in the order in which they deposit their respective ratifications.

ARTICLE XI.—The present Convention shall remain in effect indefinitely but may be denounced by means of one year's notice given to the Pan American Union, which shall transmit it to the other signatory Governments. After the expiration of this period the Convention shall cease in its effects as regards the party which denounces it but shall remain in effect for the remaining High Contracting Parties.

In witness whereof, the above mentioned Plenipotentiaries sign the present Convention in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French and hereunto affix their respective seals, at the city of Buenos Aires, Capital of the Argentine Republic, on the twenty-third day of the month of December, 1936.

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
José María Cantilo,
Felipe A. Espil,
Leopoldo Melo,
Isidoro Ruiz Moreno,
Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros.

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez.

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
Julián López Pineda.

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes.

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
Gustavo Herrera,
Alberto Zérega Fombona.

Peru:

Carlos Concha,
Alberto Ulloa,
Felipe Barreda Laos,
Diómedes Arias Schreiber.

El Salvador:

Manuel Castro Ramírez,
Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

Mexico:

Francisco Castillo Nájera,
Alfonso Reyes,
Ramón Beteta,
Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
José de Paula Rodrigues Alves,
Helio Lobo,
Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,
Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça,
Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
María Luiza Bittencourt.

Uruguay:

Pedro Manini Ríos,
Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
Felipe Ferreiro,
Abalcázar García,
Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso,
Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

Guatemala:

Carlos Salazar,
José A. Medrano,
Alfonso Carrillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
José María Moncada,
Modesto Valle.

Dominican Republic:

Max Henríquez Ureña,
Tulio M. Cestero,
Enrique Jiménez,

Colombia:

Jorge Soto del Corral,
Miguel López Pumarejo,
Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
Alberto Lleras Camargo,
José Ignacio Díaz Granados.

Panama:

Harmodio Arias M.,
Julio J. Fábrega,
Eduardo Chiari.

United States of America:

Cordell Hull,
Sumner Welles,
Alexander W. Weddell,
Adolf A. Berle, Jr.,

United States of America—Continued.

Alexander F. Whitney,
Charles G. Fenwick,
Michael Francis Doyle,
Elise F. Musser.

Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
Luis Barros Borgoño,
Félix Nieto del Río,
Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
Antonio Pons,
José Gabriel Navarro,
Francisco Guarderas,

Bolivia:

Enrique Finot,
David Alvéstegui,
Carlos Romero.

Haiti:

H. Pauleus Sannon,
Camille J. León,
Elie Lescot,
Edmé Manigat,
Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse,
Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
Ramón Zaydin,
Carlos Márquez Sterling,
Rafael Santos Jiménez,
César Salaya,
Calixto Whitmarsh,
José Manuel Carbonell.

Appendix 22

CONVENTION ON INTERCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS

The Governments represented in the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace,

Desiring to conclude a convention relative to the exchange of publications, have named the following plenipotentiaries:

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
José María Cantilo,
Felipe A. Espil,
Leopoldo Melo,
Isidoro Ruiz Moreno.
Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros.

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez.

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
Julián López Pineda.

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes.

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
Gustavo Herrera,
Alberto Zérega Fombona.

Peru:

Carlos Concha,
Alberto Ulloa,
Felipe Barreda Laos,
Diómedes Arias Schreiber.


El Salvador:

Manuel Castro Ramírez,
Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

Mexico:

Francisco Castillo Nájera,
Alfonso Reyes,
Ramón Beteta,
Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
Oswaldo Aranha,
José de Paula Rodrigues Alves,
Helio Lobo,
Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,
Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça, 
Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
María Luiza Bittencourt.

Uruguay:

José Espalter,
Pedro Manini Ríos,
Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
Juan Antonio Buero,
Felipe Ferreiro,
Andrés F. Puyol,
Abalcázar García,
José G. Antuña,
Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso,
Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

Guatemala:

Carlos Salazar,
José A. Medrano,
Alfonso Carrillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
José María Moncada,
Modesto Valle.

Dominican Republic:

Max Henríquez Ureña,
Tulio M. Cestero,
Enrique Jiménez.

Colombia:

Jorge Soto del Corral,
Miguel López Pumarejo,
Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
Alberto Lleras Camargo,
José Ignacio Díaz Granados.

Panama:

Harmodio Arias M.,
Julio J. Fábrega,
Eduardo Chiari.

United States of America:

Cordell Hull,
Sumner Wells,
Alexander W. Weddell,
Adolf A. Berle, Jr.,
Alexander F. Whitney,
Charles G. Fenwick,
Michael Francis Doyle,
Elise F. Musser.

Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
Luis Barros Borgoño,
Félix Nieto del Río,
Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
Antonio Pons,
José Gabriel Navarro,
Francisco Guarderas,
Eduardo Salazar Gómez.

Bolivia:

Enrique Finot,
David Alvéstegui,
Eduardo Díez de Medina.
Alberto Ostría Gutiérrez,
Carlos Romero,
Alberto Cortadellas,
Javier Paz Campero.

Haiti:

H. Pauleus Sannon,
 Camille J. León,
 Elie Lescot,
 Edmé Manigat,
 Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse,
 Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
 Ramón Zaydin,
 Carlos Márquez Sterling,
 Rafael Santos Jiménez,
 César Salaya,
 Calixto Whitmarsh,
 José Manuel Carbonell.

Who, after having deposited their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I. There shall be established in the national or official Library of the Capital of each of the Contracting Parties a section dedicated to each of the other States taking part in this Convention.

ARTICLE II. For the installation of these sections each Government promises to provide to each of the other Parties signatory to this Convention a collection of works of such character as to afford an understanding of the thought of their men of letters and science.

ARTICLE III. Each Government agrees to provide the accredited diplomatic missions of the other Contracting Parties with two copies of each of its official publications and such other publications as are edited with official assistance. These copies shall be destined for the sections indicated in Article I.

ARTICLE IV. The national or official Libraries of the Capitals of the Contracting Parties shall enter into agreements to maintain, with the frequency desirable, a service of exchange of works edited in each one of them, and of photographic copies of documents which may be of interest to American history.

ARTICLE V. The present Convention shall not affect obligations previously entered into by the High Contracting Parties by virtue of international agreements.

ARTICLE VI. The present Convention shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties in conformity with their respective constitutional procedures. The original instrument shall be deposited in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic which shall transmit authentic certified copies to the Governments for the aforementioned purpose of ratification. The instruments of ratification

shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan American Union in Washington, which shall notify the signatory governments of said deposit. Such notification shall be considered as an exchange of ratifications.

ARTICLE VII. The present Convention will come into effect between the High Contracting Parties in the order in which they deposit their respective ratifications.

ARTICLE VIII. The present Convention shall remain in effect indefinitely but may be denounced by means of one year's notice given to the Pan American Union, which shall transmit it to the other signatory governments. After the expiration of this period the Convention shall cease in its effects as regards the party which denounces it but shall remain in effect for the remaining High Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE IX. The present Convention shall be open for the adherence and accession of the States which are not signatories. The corresponding instruments shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan American Union, which shall communicate them to the other High Contracting Parties.

In witness whereof, the above mentioned Plenipotentiaries sign the present Convention in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French and hereunto affix their respective seals, at the City of Buenos Aires, Capital of the Argentine Republic, on the twenty-third day of the month of December, 1936.

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
José María Cantilo,
Felipe A. Espil,
Leopoldo Melo,
Isidoro Ruiz Moreno,
Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros.

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez.

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
Julián López Pineda.

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes.

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
 Gustavo Herrera,
 Alberto Zérega Fombona.

Peru:

Carlos Concha,
 Alberto Ulloa,
 Felipe Barreda Laos,
 Diómedes Arias Schreiber.

El Salvador:

Manuel Castro Ramírez,
 Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

Mexico:

Francisco Castillo Nájera,
 Alfonso Reyes,
 Ramón Beteta,
 Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
 José de Paula Rodrigues Alves,
 Helio Lobo,
 Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,
 Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
 Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça,
 Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
 Maria Luiza Bittencourt.

Uruguay:

Pedro Manini Ríos,
 Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
 Felipe Ferreiro,
 Abalcázar García,
 Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso,
 Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

Guatemala:

Carlos Salazar,
 José A. Medrano,
 Alfonso Carrillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
José María Moncada,
Modesto Valle.

Dominican Republic:

Max Henríquez Ureña,
Tulio M. Cestero,
Enrique Jiménez.

Colombia:

Jorge Soto del Corral,
Miguel López Pumarejo,
Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
Alberto Lleras Camargo,
José Ignacio Díaz Granados.

Panama:

Harmodio Arias M.,
Julio J. Fábrega,
Eduardo Chiari.

United States of America:

Cordell Hull,
Sumner Welles,
Alexander W. Weddell,
Adolf A. Berle, Jr.,
Alexander F. Whitney,
Charles G. Fenwick,
Michael Francis Doyle,
Elise F. Musser.

Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
Luis Barros Borgoño,
Félix Nieto del Río,
Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
Antonio Pons,
José Gabriel Navarro,
Francisco Guarderas,

Bolivia:

Enrique Finot,
David Alvéstegui,
Carlos Romero,

Haiti:

H. Pauleus Sannon,
Camille J. León,
Elie Lescot,
Edmé Manigat,
Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse,
Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
Ramón Zaydin,
Carlos Márquez Sterling,
Rafael Santos Jiménez,
César Salaya,
Calixto Whitmarsh,
José Manuel Carbonell.

Appendix 23

CONVENTION CONCERNING ARTISTIC EXHIBITIONS

The Governments represented at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace;

Desirous of improving their spiritual relationships through a better acquaintance with their respective artistic creations, have resolved to conclude a Convention relative to the exhibition of artistic productions, and to this effect have named the following plenipotentiaries:

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
Felipe A. Espil,
Leopoldo Melo,
Isidoro Ruiz Moreno.
Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros.

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez.

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
Julián López Pineda.

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes.

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
Gustavo Herrera,
Alberto Zérega Fombona.

Peru:

Carlos Concha,
Alberto Ulloa,
Felipe Barreda Laos,
Diómedes Arias Schreiber.

El Salvador:

Manuel Castro Ramírez,
Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

Mexico:

Francisco Castillo Nájera,
Alfonso Reyes,
Ramón Beteta,
Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
Oswaldo Aranha,
José de Paula Rodrigues Alves,
Helio Lobo,
Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,
Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça,
Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
María Luiza Bittencourt.

Uruguay:

José Espalter,
 Pedro Manini Ríos,
 Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
 Juan Antonio Buero,
 Felipe Ferreiro,
 Andrés F. Puyol,
 Abalcázar García,
 José G. Antuña,
 Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso,
 Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

Guatemala:

Carlos Salazar,
 José A. Medrano,
 Alfonso Carrillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
 José María Moncada,
 Modesto Valle.

Dominican Republic:

Max Henríquez Ureña,
 Tulio M. Cestero,
 Enrique Jiménez.

Colombia:

Jorge Soto del Corral,
 Miguel López Pumarejo
 Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
 Alberto Lleras Camargo,
 José Ignacio Díaz Granados.

Panama:

Harmodio Arias M.,
 Julio J. Fábrega,
 Eduardo Chiari.

United States of America:

Cordell Hull,
 Sumner Welles,
 Alexander W. Weddell,
 Adolf A. Berle, Jr.

United States of America—Continued.

Alexander F. Whitney,
Charles G. Fenwick,
Michael Francis Doyle,
Elise F. Musser.

Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
Luis Barros Borgoño,
Félix Nieto del Río,
Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
Antonio Pons,
José Gabriel Navarro,
Francisco Guarderas,
Eduardo Salazar Gómez.

Bolivia:

David Alvéstegui,
Enrique Finot,
Eduardo Díez de Medina.
Alberto Ostria Gutiérrez,
Carlos Romero,
Alberto Cortadellas,
Javier Paz Campero.

Haiti:

H. Pauleus Sannon,
Camille J. León,
Elie Lescot,
Edmé Manigat,
Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse,
Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
Ramón Zaydin,
Carlos Márquez Sterling,
Rafael Santos Jiménez,
César Salaya,
Calixto Whitmarsh,
José Manuel Carbonell.

Who, after having deposited their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows.

ARTICLE I.—Each of the High Contracting Parties agrees to grant, so far as its legislation may permit, all possible facilities for the holding within its territory of artistic exhibitions of each of the other Parties.

ARTICLE II.—The facilities referred to in Article I shall be granted to Government agencies and to private enterprises which are officially authorized by them and shall be extended, as far as possible, to customhouse formalities and requirements, to transport on communication lines belonging to the respective States, to rooms for exhibition or storage, and to other matters related to the object referred to.

ARTICLE III.—The present Convention shall not affect obligations previously entered into by the High Contracting Parties by virtue of international agreements.

ARTICLE IV.—The present Convention shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties in conformity with their respective constitutional procedures. The original instrument shall be deposited in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic which shall transmit authentic certified copies to the Governments for the aforementioned purpose of ratification. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan American Union in Washington, which shall notify the signatory governments of said deposit. Such notification shall be considered as an exchange of ratifications.

ARTICLE V.—The present Convention will come into effect between the High Contracting Parties in the order in which they deposit their respective ratifications.

ARTICLE VI.—The present Convention shall remain in effect indefinitely but may be denounced by means of one year's notice given to the Pan American Union, which shall transmit it to the other signatory governments. After the expiration of this period the Convention shall cease in its effects as regards the party which denounces it but shall remain in effect for the remaining High Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE VII.—The present Convention shall be open for the adherence and accession of States which are not signatories. The corresponding instruments shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan American Union, which shall communicate them to the other High Contracting Parties.

In witness whereof, the above mentioned Plenipotentiaries sign the present Convention in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French and hereunto affix their respective seals, at the City of Buenos Aires, Capital of the Argentine Republic, on the twenty-third day of the month of December, 1936.

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
José María Cantilo,
Felipe A. Espil,
Leopoldo Melo,
Isidoro Ruiz Moreno,
Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros.

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez.

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
Julián López Pineda.

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes.

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
Gustavo Herrera,
Alberto Zérega Fombona.

Peru:

Carlos Concha,
Alberto Ulloa,
Felipe Barreda Laos,
Diómedes Arias Schreiber.

El Salvador:

Manuel Castro Ramírez,
Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

Mexico:

Francisco Castillo Nájera,
Alfonso Reyes,
Ramón Beteta,
Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
 José de Paula Rodrigues Alves,
 Helio Lobo,
 Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,
 Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
 Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça,
 Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
 Maria Luiza Bittencourt.

Uruguay:

Pedro Manini Ríos,
 Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
 Felipe Ferreiro,
 Abalcázar García,
 Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso,
 Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

Guatemala:

Carlos Salazar,
 José A. Medrano,
 Alfonso Carrillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
 José María Moncada,
 Modesto Valle.

Dominican Republic:

Max Henríquez Ureña,
 Tulio M. Cestero,
 Enrique Jiménez.

Colombia:

Jorge Soto del Corral,
 Miguel López Pumarejo,
 Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
 Alberto Lleras Camargo,
 José Ignacio Díaz Granados.

Panama:

Harmodio Arias M.,
 Julio J. Fábrega,
 Eduardo Chiari.

United States of America:

Cordell Hull,
Sumner Welles,
Alexander W. Weddell,
Adolf A. Berle, Jr.,
Alexander F. Whitney,
Charles G. Fenwick,
Michael Francis Doyle,
Elise F. Musser.

Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
Luis Barros Borgoño,
Félix Nieto del Río,
Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
Antonio Pons,
José Gabriel Navarro,
Francisco Guarderas,

Bolivia:

Enrique Finot,
David Alvéstegui,
Carlos Romero,

Haiti:

H. Pauleus Sannon,
Camille J. León,
Elie Lescot,
Edmé Manigat,
Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse,
Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
Ramón Zaydin,
Carlos Márquez Sterling,
Rafael Santos Jiménez,
César Salaya,
Calixto Whitmarsh,
José Manuel Carbonell.

Appendix 24

CONVENTION CONCERNING PEACEFUL ORIENTATION OF
PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

The Governments represented at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace,

Recognizing that to reaffirm reciprocal confidence between the Nations of the Continent and to perfect the political and juridical organization of peace, it is necessary to establish a certain number of international rules for the peaceful orientation of the peoples as one of the essential aspects of the vast work of moral and material disarmament; and

Taking into account the fact that the success of the measures taken to this end in one country depends in large part upon the application of similar measures in the others:

Have resolved to conclude a Convention concerning this matter, and to that end have named the following Plenipotentiaries:

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
José María Cantilo,
Felipe A. Espil,
Leopoldo Melo,
Isidoro Ruiz Moreno,
Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros,

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez.

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
Julián López Pineda,

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes,

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
Gustavo Herrera,
Alberto Zérega Fombona,

Peru:

Carlos Concha,
Alberto Ulloa,
Felipe Barreda Laos.
Diómedes Arias Schreiber.

El Salvador:

Manuel Castro Ramírez,
Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

Mexico:

Francisco Castillo Nájera,
Alfonso Reyes,
Ramón Beteta,
Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
Oswaldo Aranha,
José de Paula Rodrigues Alves,
Helio Lobo,
Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,
Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça,
Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
María Luiza Bittencourt.

Uruguay:

José Espalter,
Pedro Manini Ríos,
Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
Juan Antonio Buero,
Felipe Ferreiro,
Andrés F. Puyol,
Abalcázar García,
José G. Antuña,
Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso,
Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

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Carlos Salazar,
José A. Medrano,
Alfonso Carrillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
 José María Moncada,
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Dominican Republic:

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 Tulio M. Cestero,
 Enrique Jiménez.

Colombia:

Jorge Soto del Corral,
 Miguel López Pumarejo,
 Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
 Alberto Lleras Camargo,
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 Michael Francis Doyle,
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Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
 Luis Barros Borgoño,
 Félix Nieto del Río,
 Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
 Antonio Pons,
 José Gabriel Navarro,
 Francisco Guarderas,
 Eduardo Salazar Gómez.

Bolivia:

Enrique Finot,
David Alvéstegui,
Eduardo Díez de Medina,
Alberto Ostria Gutiérrez,
Carlos Romero,
Alberto Cortadellas,
Javier Paz Campero.

Haiti:

H. Pauleus Sannon,
Camille J. León,
Elie Lescot.
Edmé Manigat,
Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse,
Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
Ramón Zaydin,
Carlos Márquez Sterling,
Rafael Santos Jiménez,
César Salaya,
Calixto Whitmarsh,
José Manuel Carbonell.

Who, after having deposited their Full Powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following provisions:

ARTICLE 1^o—The High Contracting Parties agree to organize, in their public educational establishments, the teaching of the principles of pacific settlement of international disputes and the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, as well as the practical applications of these principles.

ARTICLE 2^o—The High Contracting Parties agree to prepare, through their administrative authorities on public education, textbooks or manuals of instruction adapted to all school grades, including the training of a teaching staff, in order to promote understanding, mutual respect, and the importance of international cooperation. Persons in charge of instruction shall teach in accordance with the principles expressed therein.

ARTICLE 3^o—The High Contracting Parties shall entrust the National Commission of Intellectual Cooperation, provided for in previous agreements in force, with the fulfillment of the provisions mentioned above, and with promoting the publicity which moving pictures, the theatre, and the radio may give to the cause of inter-

national understanding, and with the study and application of any other measures which may increase the spirit of tolerance, equity and justice between nations. Each Commission shall send annually to the respective Division of the Pan American Union at Washington, and to the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, at Paris, a detailed report concerning the measures taken by its country in fulfillment of the present Convention.

ARTICLE 4°—The present Convention shall not affect obligations previously entered into by the High Contracting Parties by virtue of international agreements.

ARTICLE 5°—The present Convention shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties in conformity with their respective constitutional procedures. The original instrument shall be deposited in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic which shall transmit authentic certified copies to the Governments for the aforementioned purpose of ratification. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan American Union in Washington, which shall notify the signatory governments of said deposit. Such notification shall be considered as an exchange of ratifications.

ARTICLE 6°—The present Convention will come into effect between the High Contracting Parties in the order in which they deposit their respective ratifications.

ARTICLE 7°—The present Convention shall remain in effect indefinitely but may be denounced by means of one year's notice given to the Pan American Union, which shall transmit it to the other signatory governments. After the expiration of this period the Convention shall cease in its effects as regards the party which denounces it but shall remain in effect for the remaining High Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE 8°—The present Convention shall be open for the adherence and accession of states which are not signatories. The corresponding instruments shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan American Union, which shall communicate them to the other High Contracting Parties.

In witness whereof, the above mentioned Plenipotentiaries sign the present Convention in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French and hereunto affix their respective seals, at the City of Buenos Aires, Capital of the Argentine Republic, on the twenty-third day of the month of December, 1936.

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
José María Cantilo,

Argentina—Continued.

Felipe A. Espil,
Leopoldo Melo,
Isidoro Ruiz Moreno,
Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros.

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez.

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
Julián López Pineda.

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes.

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
Gustavo Herrera,
Alberto Zérega Fombona.

Peru:

Carlos Concha,
Alberto Ulloa,
Felipe Barreda Laos,
Diómedes Arias Schreiber.

El Salvador:

Manuel Castro Ramírez,
Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

Mexico:

Francisco Castillo Nájera,
Alfonso Reyes,
Ramón Beteta,
Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
José de Paula Rodrigues Alves,
Helio Lobo,

Brazil—Continued.

Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,
 Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
 Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça
 Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
 Maria Luiza Bittencourt.

Uruguay:

Pedro Manini Ríos,
 Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
 Felipe Ferreira,
 Abalcázar García,
 Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso,
 Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

Guatemala:

Carlos Salazar,
 José A. Medrano,
 Alfonso Carrillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
 José María Moncada,
 Modesto Valle.

Dominican Republic:

Max Henríquez Ureña,
 Tulio M. Cestero,
 Enrique Jiménez,

Colombia:

Jorge Soto del Corral,
 Miguel López Pumarejo,
 Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
 Alberto Lleras Camargo,
 José Ignacio Díaz Granados.

Panama:

Harmodio Arias M.,
 Julio J. Fábrega,
 Eduardo Chiari.

United States of America:

Abstained from signing.

Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
Luis Barros Borgoño,
Félix Nieto del Río,
Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
Antonio Pons, *
José Gabriel Navarro,
Francisco Guarderas,

Bolivia:

Enrique Finot,
David Alvéstegui,
Carlos Romero,

Haiti:

H. Pauleus Sannon,
Camille J. León,
Elie Lescot,
Edmé Manigat,
Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse,
Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
Ramón Zaydin,
Carlos Márquez Sterling,
Rafael Santos Jiménez,
César Salaya,
Calixto Whitmarsh,
José Manuel Carbonell.

Appendix 25**CONVENTION CONCERNING FACILITIES FOR EDUCATIONAL
AND PUBLICITY FILMS**

The Governments represented at the Inter-American Conference
for the Maintenance of Peace,

Convinced that by giving facilities for the admission and circulation
of cinematographic films having an educational or propaganda char-

acter, mutual understanding will be developed and the affection and mutual comprehension of American peoples will be encouraged,

Have resolved to conclude a convention for that purpose, and to that effect have named the following Plenipotentiaries:

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
José María Cantilo,
Felipe A. Espil,
Leopoldo Melo,
Isidoro Ruiz Moreno.
Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros.

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez.

Honduras:

Antonio Bermúdez M.,
Julián López Pineda.

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
Gustavo Herrera,
Alberto Zérega Fombona.

Peru:

Carlos Concha,
Alberto Ulloa,
Felipe Barreda Laos,
Diómedes Arias Schreiber.

El Salvador:

Manuel Castro Ramírez,
Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

Mexico:

Francisco Castillo Nájera,
Alfonso Reyes,
Ramón Beteta,
Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
Oswaldo Aranha,
José de Paula Rodrigues Alves,
Helio Lobo,
Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,
Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça,
Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
María Luiza Bittencourt.

Uruguay:

José Espalter,
Pedro Manini Ríos,
Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
Juan Antonio Buero,
Felipe Ferreiro,
Andrés F. Puyol,
Abalcázar García,
José G. Antuña,
Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso,
Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

Guatemala:

Carlos Salazar,
José A. Medrano,
Alfonso Carrillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
José María Moncada,
Modesto Valle.

Dominican Republic:

Max Henríquez Ureña,
Tulio M. Cestero,
Enrique Jiménez.

Colombia:

Jorge Soto del Corral,
 Miguel López Pumarejo,
 Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
 Alberto Lleras Camargo,
 José Ignacio Díaz Granados.

Panama:

Harmodio Arias M.,
 Julio J. Fábrega,
 Eduardo Chiari.

United States of America:

Cordell Hull,
 Sumner Welles,
 Alexander W. Weddell,
 Alexander F. Whitney,
 Charles G. Fenwick,
 Michael Francis Doyle,
 Elise F. Musser.

Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
 Luis Barros Borgoño,
 Félix Nieto del Río,
 Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
 Antonio Pons,
 José Gabriel Navarro,
 Francisco Guarderas,
 Eduardo Salazar Gómez.

Bolivia:

Enrique Finot,
 David Alvéstegui,
 Eduardo Díez de Medina.
 Alberto Ostria Gutiérrez,
 Carlos Romero,
 Alberto Cortadellas,
 Javier Paz Campero.

Haiti:

H. Pauleus Sannon,
Camille J. León,
Elie Lescot,
Edmé Manigat,
Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse,
Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
Ramón Zaydín,
Carlos Márquez Sterling,
Rafael Santos Jiménez,
César Salaya,
Calixto Whitmarsh,
José Manuel Carbonell.

Who, after having deposited their Full Powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I.—The High Contracting Parties bind themselves to exempt from all customs tariffs and expenses and additional taxes of any kind, the permanent or temporary importation, transit, and exportation of films of educational and propaganda character produced by entities or institutions established in the territory of any of the High Contracting Parties.

This exemption shall not apply to the customs dues on the importation of merchandise, not even when these are exempted from customs duties, such as the tax for statistics or stamp taxes.

The High Contracting Parties also bind themselves not to submit the films of an educational or propaganda character to internal taxes different from or higher than, or to regulation, formalities or rules of sales, or circulation or regulation of any other kind, different from those to which national films are submitted. Nevertheless, they may require those importing or showing them for profit, to exhibit this type of film as one of the numbers of each motion picture show where an entrance fee is charged.

ARTICLE II.—By educational and propaganda films the following is meant:

- a) Films intended for information on the work and purposes of international entities generally recognized by the High Contracting Parties which deal with the maintenance of peace between nations;
- b) Films intended for educational use in any grade;

- c) Films intended for professional guidance, including technical films connected with industry and films for scientific organization of labor;
- d) Films of scientific or technical investigations or of popularization of science;
- e) Films concerning hygiene, physical culture, social welfare and social service;
- f) Tourist publicity films or any with other aim, which have no political character.

ARTICLE III.—The provisions in the previous article shall be applied to educational films in any one of the following ways:

Printed or developed negatives and printed or developed positives.

The present Convention shall likewise apply to any kind of sound reproduction such as phonograph records complementary to the film, and sound films.

ARTICLE IV.—To obtain the exemption of custom dues in accordance with the present Convention for any film, including any kind of complementary sound reproduction, it shall be accompanied by a certificate issued by the proper public administration belonging to the country of origin by which the fact that it is an educational or propaganda film and its non-political character, is established.

ARTICLE V.—For the purposes of the preceding Article the Contracting States shall notify to the Pan American Union at the time of ratification or adherence, the name of the public administration which will issue such certificates.

ARTICLE VI.—On presentation of such certificates and in cases in which the exemption of custom duties may not have been granted, the customs authorities of the country to which it is desired to import the film, shall grant the necessary facilities to exhibit the film to the national authority commissioned to give its opinion whether same may be admitted duty free. The expenses entailed by this presentation shall be for the account of those interested in the importation of the film.

ARTICLE VII.—Only the competent national authority is entitled to decide whether a film is to be considered as educational from a national point of view, and accordingly to be admitted duty free as provided for in this Convention.

ARTICLE VIII.—The High Contracting Parties bind themselves to promote as much as possible the international exchange and loan of educational or non-political publicity films by means of direct agreements between the respective authorities having jurisdiction in each country.

ARTICLE IX.—Nothing in the present Convention shall affect the right of the High Contracting Parties to submit to revision and classification educational or publicity films in accordance with its

own laws, or to take measures to prohibit or limit the importation or transit of films for reasons of public order.

ARTICLE X.—When signing or adhering to the present Convention the High Contracting Parties may reserve the right to adopt measures for prohibiting or limiting the importation of films in order to protect their home markets against invasion by films of foreign origin.

ARTICLE XI.—The present Convention shall not affect obligations previously entered into by the High Contracting Parties by virtue of international agreements.

ARTICLE XII.—The present Convention shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties in conformity with their respective constitutional procedures. The original instrument shall be deposited in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic which shall transmit authentic certified copies to the Governments for the aforementioned purpose of ratification. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan American Union in Washington, which shall notify the signatory Governments of said deposit. Such notification shall be considered as an exchange of ratifications.

ARTICLE XIII.—The present Convention will come into effect between the High Contracting Parties in the order in which they deposit their respective ratifications.

ARTICLE XIV.—The present Convention shall remain in effect indefinitely but may be denounced by means of one year's notice given to the Pan American Union, which shall transmit it to the other signatory governments. After the expiration of this period the Convention shall cease in its effects as regards the party which denounces it but shall remain in effect for the remaining High Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE XV.—The present Convention shall be open for the adherence and accession of states which are not signatories. The corresponding instruments shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan American Union, which shall communicate them to the other High Contracting Parties.

In witness whereof, the above mentioned Plenipotentiaries sign the present Convention in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French and hereunto affix their respective seals, at the city of Buenos Aires, Capital of the Argentine Republic, on the twenty-third day of the month of December, 1936.

Argentina:

Carlos Saavedra Lamas,
Roberto M. Ortiz,
Miguel Angel Cárcano,
José María Cantilo,
Felipe A. Espil,

Argentina—Continued.

Leopoldo Melo,
Isidoro Ruiz Moreno,
Daniel Antokoletz,
Carlos Brebbia,
César Díaz Cisneros.

Paraguay:

Miguel Angel Soler,
J. Isidro Ramírez.

Honduras:

Antonia Bermúdez M.,
Julián López Pineda.

Costa Rica:

Manuel F. Jiménez,
Carlos Brenes.

Venezuela:

Caracciolo Parra Pérez,
Gustavo Herrera,
Alberto Zérega Fombona.

Peru:

Carlos Concha,
Alberto Ulloa,
Felipe Barreda Laos,
Diómedes Arias Schreiber.

El Salvador:

Manuel Castro Ramírez,
Maximiliano Patricio Brannon.

Mexico:

Francisco Castillo Nájera,
Alfonso Reyes,
Ramón Beteta,
Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo.

Brazil:

José Carlos de Macedo Soares,
José de Paula Rodrigues Alves,
Helio Lobo,
Hildebrando Pompeu Pinto Accioly,

Brazil—Continued.

Edmundo da Luz Pinto,
Roberto Carneiro de Mendonça,
Rosalina Coelho Lisboa de Miller,
Maria Luiza Bittencourt.

Uruguay:

Pedro Manini Ríos.
Eugenio Martínez Thedy,
Felipe Ferreiro,
Abalcázar García,
Julio César Cerdeiras Alonso,
Gervasio Posadas Belgrano.

Guatemala:

Carlos Salazar,
José A. Medrano,
Alfonso Carillo.

Nicaragua:

Luis Manuel Debayle,
José María Moncada,
Modesto Valle.

Dominican Republic:

Max Henríquez Ureña,
Tulio M. Cestero,
Enrique Jiménez,

Colombia:

Jorge Soto del Corral,
Miguel López Pumarejo,
Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez,
Alberto Lleras Camargo,
José Ignacio Díaz Granados.

Panama:

Harmodio Arias M.,
Julio J. Fábrega,
Eduardo Chiari.

United States of America:

Abstained from signing.

Chile:

Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal,
Luis Barros Borgoño,
Félix Nieto del Río,
Ricardo Montaner Bello.

Ecuador:

Humberto Albornoz,
Antonio Pons,
José Gabriel Navarro,
Francisco Guarderas.

Bolivia:

Enrique Finot,
David Alvístegui,
Carlos Romero.

Haiti:

H. Pauleus Sannon,
Camille J. León,
Elie Lescot,
Edmé Manigat,
Pierre Eugène de Lespinasse,
Clément Magloire.

Cuba:

José Manuel Cortina,
Ramón Zaydin,
Carlos Márquez Sterling,
Rafael Santos Jiménez,
César Salaya,
Calixto Whitmarsh,
José Manuel Carbonell.

Appendix 26

TABLE SHOWING RATIFICATION OF OR ADHERENCE TO
INSTRUMENTS FOR THE PACIFIC SETTLEMENT
OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES

Country	Prevention of Conflicts (Gondra Treaty, 1923)	Renunciation of War (Pact of Paris, 1928)	Inter-American Conciliation Convention (Washington, 1929)*	Inter-American Arbitration (Washington, 1929)	Anti-War Pact (Rio de Janeiro, 1933)
Argentina	———	———	———	———	Ratified
Bolivia	———	———	———	———	———
Brazil	Ratified	Adhered	Ratified	Ratified	Ratified
Chile	Ratified	Adhered	Ratified	Ratified	Ratified
Colombia	Ratified	Adhered	———	———	Adhered
Costa Rica	Ratified	Adhered	———	———	———
Cuba	Ratified	Adhered	Ratified	Ratified	Adhered
Dominican Republic	Ratified	Adhered	Ratified	Ratified	Adhered
Ecuador	Ratified	Adhered	Ratified	———	Adhered
El Salvador	Ratified	———	Ratified	Ratified	Adhered
Guatemala	Ratified	Adhered	Ratified	Ratified	Adhered
Haiti	Ratified	Adhered	Ratified	Ratified	Adhered
Honduras	Ratified	Adhered	———	Ratified	Adhered
Mexico	Adhered	Adhered	Ratified	Ratified	Ratified
Nicaragua	Ratified	Adhered	Ratified	Ratified	Adhered
Panama	Ratified	Adhered	Ratified	Ratified	Adhered
Paraguay	Ratified	Adhered	———	———	———
Peru	Adhered	Adhered	Ratified	Ratified	Adhered
United States of America	Ratified	Ratified	Ratified	Ratified	Adhered
Uruguay	Ratified	———	Ratified	———	Ratified
Venezuela	Ratified	Adhered	Ratified	Ratified	Adhered

*The additional protocol of 1929 to this convention was ratified by Chile, Dominican Republic, Mexico, and United States of America.

RESOLUTIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND DECLARATIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE

Appendix 27

I. PROGRAM OF THE CONFERENCE

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

To ratify the agreement adopted by the Pan American Union on July 28, 1936, and, consequently, to recommend to all the Committees that they give preferential consideration in their studies and reports to questions relating to the organization of peace.

(Approved December 4, 1936).

Appendix 28

II. RECOGNITION OF AND GRATITUDE TO THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND OF ARGENTINA

Assured of the benefits for the maintenance of peace that will result from the deliberations of this Conference and the results thereof, due in large measure to the happy circumstances and the terms in which the President of the United States of America, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, initiated this Conference and to the high interest and understanding which the President of the Argentine Republic, General Agustín P. Justo, and his Government have manifested in its realization,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

To express to the Presidents and Governments of the United States of America and the Argentine Republic, the recognition and gratitude of the peoples and Governments of America.

(Approved December 5, 1936).

Appendix 29

III. RATIFICATION OF PEACE AGREEMENTS

Whereas, the circumstances still prevail which induced the Seventh International Conference of American States to approve a resolution on the ratification of peace agreements; and

Whereas, all the American States, in their replies to the invitation of President Roosevelt, agreed on the necessity of coordinating and giving greater effectiveness to said instruments at the present meeting;

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

Without prejudice to the object of this Conference, namely, to organize and maintain the peace of America,

1. To invite the American countries, which have not already done so, to adhere to or ratify the peace instruments referred to in the said Resolution of Montevideo;

The States which have already adhered to or ratified them, or which may do so in the future, shall present the respective instruments in the manner established by the said pacts or agreements;

2. To extend this Recommendation to include the Additional Protocol to the General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation of 1929;

3. To reaffirm the recommendations and measures approved by the said Seventh International Conference of American States on the ratification of peace agreements.

(Approved December 4, 1936).

Appendix 30

IV. INTER-AMERICAN COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

To entrust to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union the study of the projects presented to this Conference, as well as of projects previously submitted and such as may be presented in the future, relative to the creation and organization of an Inter-American Court of International Justice.

The Governing Board shall submit its report and conclusions thereon for the consideration of the Eighth International Conference of American States.

(Approved December 16, 1936).

Appendix 31**V. GENERALIZATION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN JURIDICAL SYSTEM**

Whereas, it is desirable that all the States of America should be able to adhere and accede to all treaties and conventions signed at international American conferences; and

Whereas, generalization of some of these treaties and conventions is also desirable,

*The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace***RECOMMENDS:**

1. That treaties and conventions adopted at Inter-American conferences shall be open to the accession or adherence of American States which may not have signed them.

2. That treaties and conventions adopted at Inter-American conferences shall be open to the accession or adherence of all States, whenever it is so provided in such instruments.

(Approved December 16, 1936).

Appendix 32**VI. CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW**

Considering the importance of carrying forward the work of codifying international law and of not permitting the nullification of the beneficial work of the International Commission of American Jurists, as well as that of the Permanent Committees on Codification created by the Sixth International Conference of American States;

Considering the necessity of harmonizing the resolutions on methods of codification adopted at Montevideo and Havana;

Considering that this work, by its very nature, requires constant and continuous preliminary study, and that this can be done only by centralized and permanent agencies;

Considering, that in view of the importance of the Committee of Experts created by the Seventh International Conference of American States, it is more within the scope of that Committee to undertake the work of revision and coordination, but that it is not possible for that Committee to meet for the length of time and as frequently as necessary to carry on the slow work of elaborating preliminary projects of codification,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

1. To re-establish the Permanent Committees created by the Sixth International Conference of American States, in order that they may undertake the preliminary studies for the codification of international law.

2. That these studies shall be made in the following manner, in view of the recommendations of the Sixth and Seventh International Conferences of American States:

(a) The National Committees on Codification of International Law shall, in their respective countries, undertake studies of the doctrine on the various subjects to be codified, and shall transmit the results thereof to the Permanent Committees on Codification.

(b) The Permanent Committees shall prepare draft conventions and resolutions as bases of discussion and preparatory work for the International Commission of American Jurists.

(c) The studies of the Permanent Committees on Codification shall be transmitted, in ample time, to the members of the Committee of Experts, at Washington, who will meet to revise and coordinate them.

(d) Upon completion of the work of general revision of the studies of the Permanent Committees, the Committee of Experts, at Washington, shall transmit all such preparatory studies with a detailed report to the Pan American Union, for transmission to the Governments of the American Republics and ultimate submission for discussion and consideration by the International Commission of American Jurists. The Pan American Union, whenever it is deemed advisable but at least once a year, shall inform the Governments of the American Republics of the progress made in the work of codification. The Pan American Union shall also prepare a report concerning the rules, principles and standards and submit it to the Committee of Experts.

(e) The Committee of Experts may act by a majority of the members present at a meeting, provided, however, that the two great juridical systems of the hemisphere are represented thereat.

(Approved December 16, 1936).

Appendix 33**VII. DIGESTS OF DOCTRINES, PRECEDENTS AND
DECISIONS OF FOREIGN MINISTRIES**

Realizing the great importance which the coordinated and systematic publication of the legal doctrines maintained by the different American Governments has for carrying out expeditiously the work of codifying international law, especially the publication of those doctrines which bear upon the matters to be included in this codification,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

To recommend to all the American Governments that, as some of them have already done, they promote as soon as possible the publication of texts or methodical digests in which the doctrines maintained by each of said Governments on questions of international law may be easily consulted.

To recommend also to the Pan American Union the publication of a summary of the work referred to in the first part of this resolution.

(Approved December 16, 1936).

Appendix 34

VIII. AMERICAN ACADEMY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Convinced of the important contribution which the Academy of International Law of The Hague, in cooperation with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, is making to the cause of world peace; and

Convinced that similar benefits would be derived from the establishment of such an Academy in America, in which questions of great current interest to this Continent might be authoritatively considered, with facilities for easier access and more prompt dissemination among the citizens of the American republics,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

To recommend that, as soon as it may be possible, there be established the American Academy of International Law, upon an adequate basis.

(Approved December 16, 1936).

Appendix 35

IX. NATIONAL COMMITTEES OF INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION

Whereas, it is desirable to coordinate the efforts to stimulate intellectual cooperation among the American Republics, and between them and organizations of an international character dedicated to the same object,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RECOMMENDS:

That the Republics of America, which have not yet done so, appoint National Committees of Intellectual Cooperation as soon as possible, in order that said Committees may establish contact with other such national groups, and with the Division of Intellectual Cooperation of the Pan American Union at Washington, and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation of Paris.

(Approved December 16, 1936).

Appendix 36

X. CREATION OF A LEAGUE OF AMERICAN NATIONS

WHEREAS:

The Delegation of the Dominican Republic has presented to this Conference a project on the Creation of a League of American Nations;

The Delegation of Colombia has in turn presented another project on the Creation of an Association of American Nations; and

Although the possibility could be considered of harmonizing the two projects in order to draw up a single project which might be an object of discussion in the sessions of the Conference, it is certain that so complicated and vast a subject requires a thorough study upon the part of each and all of the Governments of the Continent and that, consequently, the topic is not sufficiently ripe for its immediate consideration on the present occasion,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

That the topic relative to the creation of a League or Association of American Nations be included in the program of the Eighth International Conference of American States, to be held in the city of Lima;

And recommends that the States which have presented projects on said topic in this Conference come to an agreement among themselves and consult the other States on the subject, in order to present a report, in due time, with all the antecedents, to the Pan American Union, so that this report and its appendices may be taken into consideration in formulating the program of the Eighth International Conference of American States.

(Approved December 19, 1936).

Appendix 37

XI. TRIBUTE TO JURISTS

After having heard the exposition made by the Brazilian Delegate, His Excellency Dr. Nascimento Brito, on the work accomplished by the Permanent Committee on Codification of Public International Law, organized in Rio de Janeiro in 1931, under the presidency of the eminent Brazilian jurist, Dr. Eptacio Pessoa, by virtue of the resolution adopted at the Sixth International Conference of American States;

Considering that the codification of international law is an important factor for the maintenance of peace, since it tends to establish principles, rules and norms to regulate international relations in accordance with permanent bases of law, justice, equity and international morality; and that it is likewise an act of well-merited recognition to render homage to the memory of the publicists of international law who have contributed by their talent and their learning towards the progress and the evolution of this science;

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

1. To give a vote of applause to the Permanent Commission on codification of Public International Law, of Rio de Janeiro, and to its eminent President, Doctor Eptacio Pessoa.

2. To extend this homage to the American jurists who have participated in the various Commissions of the International Commission of American Jurists, since its establishment, or who have specialized on this subject: Norberto Quirno Costa, Carlos Rodríguez Larreta and Carlos Saavedra Lamas, of Argentina; Azpiázu, of Bolivia; Afranio de Mello Franco, Lafayette, Eptacio Pessoa, Rodrigues Pereira, Raúl Fernández, Rodrigo Octavio and Oliveira, of Brazil; Alejandro Alvarez, Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal, Gaspar Toro, J. G. Guerra and Castro Ruiz, of Chile; Jesús María Yopez and Pérez Triana, of Colombia; L. Anderson, of Costa Rica; Antonio Sánchez de Bustamante y Sirven, of Cuba; Carlos Tobar, of Ecuador; Francis Lieber, David Dudley Field, John Bassett Moore, James Brown Scott and Manley O. Hudson, of the United States of America; Abel Nicolás Léger, of Haiti; Julio García, Eduardo Suárez and Francisco León de la Barra, of México; Higinio Arbo, of Paraguay; Carlos Wiese, Víctor M. Maúrtua, Alberto Elmore and Antonio Arenas, of Perú; José Pedro Varela, of Uruguay; and Esteban Gil Borges, of Venezuela.

3. To render homage likewise to the publicists who during life dedicated their talents to the progressive perfection of this science: Amancio Alcorta, Carlos Calvo, Luis María Drago, Estanislao S. Zeballos, Eduardo Bidau and Joaquín V. González, of Argentina; Díez de Medina, of Bolivia; Ruy Barbosa and Sa Vienna, of Brazil;

Andrés Bello, of Chile and Venezuela; Marco Fidel Suárez, of Colombia; Manuel Márquez Sterling of Cuba; Salvador Rodríguez González, of El Salvador; Halleck, Woolsey and Wheaton, of the United States of America; Fernando González Roa, Julio García, Eduardo Suárez and Francisco León de la Barra, of México; José Toribio Pacheco and Ramón Ribeyro, of Perú; Gonzalo Ramírez, Gregorio Pérez Comar and Andrés Lamas, of Uruguay; and Seijas, of Venezuela; and so many other American internationalists who have contributed to the progress of international law.

(Approved December 19, 1936).

Appendix 38

XII. REVISION OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

Convinced of the importance and the necessity of guiding the judgment of future generations in conformity with ideals of peace and friendly collaboration with all peoples, and thus keep them from being contaminated by the preaching of international hatreds, antagonisms, and prejudices;

Being certain of interpreting the feeling of the peoples represented, that well conceived patriotism, the historical truth, the glorification of great national achievements and the homage due to the heroes of each country do not require that public-school textbooks keep alive the controversies between research workers, alter facts established by critical investigation in general works of history or belittle the glories of the heroes of other nations;

Desiring to promote in an effective manner in the various school grades where national ideals are formed the task of purifying individual conscience and public opinion by preventing activities which tend to keep nations from living together in order and peace; and

Recognizing the obvious advantages of profiting by the agreements already concluded with this lofty aim;

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

To recommend to the American Republics, that have not already done so:

1. To adhere to the Brazilian-Argentine Convention for the revision of history and geography textbooks, signed at Rio de Janeiro on October 10th, 1933.

2. To ratify the Convention on the teaching of history signed at the Seventh International Conference of American States.

3. To subscribe to the declaration on the revision of school books prepared by the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, and submitted by the General Secretary of the League of Nations to the Governments of member and non-member countries, and

4. To promote, *motu proprio*, the revision of the school books used in each country, as a voluntary contribution to the great work of the spiritual preparation of future generations in an atmosphere of international peace and good-will.

With regard to the principles which should govern the revision of school-texts,

RECOMMENDS THAT:

1. With reference to history texts, consideration should be given not only to topics that promote or excite hatred toward any people, but also to the omissions that may have been made, taking care that the effort of each country in the cause of national independence, and its contribution to continental independence, be given full recognition.

2. An effort be made to the end that geography texts contain the most complete information possible, not only with reference to resources and production, but also with respect to the orographic, climatic, cultural, political, social and public health aspects of each country, and

3. That advantage be taken of the excellent suggestion of the Casares plan, prepared by the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, at Paris, and that due attention be given to the carefully and well conceived indications contained in the plan prepared by the Commission for the Revision of History and Geography textbooks, under the chairmanship of the distinguished educator Dr. Ricardo Levene, established by the Minister of Public Instruction of the Argentine Republic in connection with the Brazilian-Argentine Convention on this subject.

(Approved December 19, 1936).

Appendix 39

XIII. PUBLIC PERFORMANCES AND PEACE

Desirous of contributing to the prevention of public performances that may promote unfriendly attitudes between American peoples,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

To recommend that the Governments seek to avoid the exhibition of theatrical productions and motion pictures which represent the defense of aggressive armaments, or which offend the natural feelings of

other countries, or disturb good relations between peoples, or incite hatred against foreigners.

(The United States Delegation agrees to this resolution with the understanding that the recommendation is designed to bring about action by the governments only if their internal legislation permits such action).

(Approved December 19, 1936).

Appendix 40

XIV. RADIO BROADCASTING AND MORAL DISARMAMENT

Animated by the desire to give practical application to one of the great principles of moral disarmament, and thus to prevent a modern method of *rapprochement* such as radio broadcasting, from being used to the detriment of the understanding which should prevail among the American peoples;

Convinced that radio broadcasting which knows no geographical or political frontiers, can be one of the strongest moral and spiritual bonds between peoples if it is utilized in a spirit of mutual understanding;

Conscious that radio broadcasting can play a great part in the service of moral disarmament if it raises the intellectual level of listeners and gives them a more exact knowledge of foreign countries, thus combating two great factors which make for isolation and mistrust, namely, ignorance and biased interpretations;

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

1. To recommend to the American countries, which as yet have not done so, that they adhere to and ratify the International Convention on the use of radio broadcasting in the service of peace, signed at Geneva on September 23, 1936, and that they put into effect the recommendations adopted with reference thereto;

2. To suggest to the appropriate administrations of the South American Republics that in accordance with the provisions of clause III, article XI, of the South American Regional Agreement on Radio Communications, signed at Buenos Aires on April 10, 1935, article VII of which refers to broadcasts which may affect cordial international relations or the national sentiment of other peoples, they adhere to this agreement if they have not yet done so, and put it into force; and

3. To suggest to the appropriate Administrations of the North and Central American countries, as well as the Caribbean countries, that they conclude an agreement which, with respect to radio broadcasting

and peace, shall reproduce the provisions of the aforementioned South American Agreement.

(The United States Delegation abstains from voting on this resolution).

(Approved December 19, 1936).

Appendix 41

XV. RADIO BROADCASTING IN THE SERVICE OF PEACE

Convinced that for the Moral Disarmament of peoples it is necessary to promote the establishment of certain standards, in addition to those set forth in the Convention in force, concerning the use of radio broadcasting in the interests of Peace,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

1. To recommend that the Governments of America, in so far as their respective internal legislation may permit, shall endeavor to encourage, in radio broadcasting, the inclusion of themes relative to the benefits of peace and the peaceful settlement of international controversies, the scientific, intellectual, and material progress of Nations, and the promotion of a spirit of mutual understanding and moral disarmament of peoples;

2. To recommend that the Governments endeavor to avoid any radio broadcasting, originating in any of the American Republics, or re-transmitted from some other source, by a radio station within its territory, that may disturb the peaceful relations between peoples, or wound national sensibilities of listeners in another country.

(The United States Delegation agrees to this resolution with the understanding that the following words in paragraph 1, "To recommend that the Governments of America in so far as their respective internal legislation permits," are intended also to apply to and limit the language of paragraph 2).

(Approved December 19, 1936).

Appendix 42

XVI. PAN AMERICAN CONFERENCES AND MORAL DISARMAMENT

Considering the importance of intellectual cooperation in promoting closer relations and a better understanding between peoples, especially as it tends to create a spirit of solidarity and harmony,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

To recommend to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union that it give preferential attention in the programs of future American International Conferences to the study of all available means for the promotion of harmony among the American peoples, and to that end the Committees of Intellectual Cooperation be enlarged to become also Committees of Moral Disarmament.

(Approved December 19, 1936).

Appendix 43

XVII. DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF WOMEN WITH RESPECT TO
THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE

Convinced of the manifest efficacy of the action of women in the social organization and the defense of peace because of the decisive influence which they exercise upon the moral upbringing of future generations;

Recognizing the important work which women do and the greater work which they might do, in every sphere of activity, which endeavors to promote and strengthen a spirit of good will between peoples whether social, pedagogical, cultural, or in the guidance of public opinion;

Desiring to stimulate and generalize this spontaneous cooperation, by such means as each country considers most adequate, especially with respect to social peace and the humanitarian and educational undertakings which contribute to the maintenance and consolidation of peace, and considering that the time has come to impose this far-reaching task as a duty, with the corresponding rights for its adequate fulfillment,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

To recommend to the Governments of the American Republics that they adopt the most adequate legislation granting to women full recognition of the rights and duties of citizenship.

(Approved December 19, 1936).

Appendix 44

XVIII. INTERCHANGE OF DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO THE ORGANIZATION AND REGULATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

WHEREAS:

In order to carry into effect the proposal enunciated in preceding Inter-American Conferences, to strengthen spiritual and intellectual bonds, by the exchange of professors and students, mutual knowledge concerning the organization of the institutions entrusted with public education in each country is necessary; and

Likewise, it is convenient to facilitate the comparative study of curricula, programs and methods, in order to prepare their equivalents in the different divisions and special departments, adapting or modifying them in order to be in harmony with the corresponding social or economic conditions,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

1. To recommend that the Governments of the American Republics through their respective administrative offices, facilitate the continuous exchange of publications setting forth the organization, regulations, programs and fees in the different divisions of public education in each country as well as the exchange of projects for the reform of general education, plans of study, and methods employed.

2. That the Governments of the aforesaid American countries recommend to the administrative organization in charge of university, secondary, special and primary education, the propriety of undertaking comparative studies and of making them known through channels of publicity.

(Approved December 19, 1936).

Appendix 45

XIX. ESTABLISHMENT OF SPECIAL AMERICAN LIBRARIES

WHEREAS:

Reciprocal knowledge of peoples finds expression in the press, and particularly in the newspapers of America, where press laws are characteristically liberal;

The establishment of special libraries of newspapers and periodicals, represents a most appreciable contribution to the spiritual ties uniting peoples,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

1. To recommend to the Governments of the American Republics the establishment of reading rooms dedicated to American newspapers and magazines, as an annex to a public library in the capital of each country.

2. The several Governments, for the purpose of creating these special libraries, may request the cooperation of the more important newspapers, in order to establish this flow of exchange, as well as that of pamphlets, year-books, reports of scientific and literary bodies; publications of centers of learning, banking and commerce that may have a periodical character; monographs of Departments and official publication; booklets intended for tourists, and such other material for ready reading which may contribute toward closer ties among peoples, in order to improve their sources of mutual knowledge.

3. Should it become necessary to contribute toward the maintenance of the exchange of newspapers and periodicals for these special libraries in America, the Governments of these Republics shall study the means to pay for such service with regard to the periodicals in their respective countries.

4. The transmittal of the periodicals shall be made directly, if possible by airmail, through the various Foreign Offices, in order to insure regularity of exchange, and also to secure the franking privilege for those publishing institutions that cooperate in this disinterested manner.

(Approved December 19, 1936).

Appendix 46

XX. ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN WRITERS AND ARTISTS

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RECOMMENDS:

1. That the Governments of America lend their support to the organization and development of the Association of American Writers and Artists (Asociación de Escritores y Artistas Americanos) established in Havana, by a law of the Republic of Cuba, an institution the aim of which is to promote the moral and cultural union of the writers, artists and scientists of the American Continent.

2. That in accordance with the statutes of this institution the Governments and the scientists of the Americas shall favor the formation of Member Associations to be established in all American Capi-

tals, as provided in the charter of the aforementioned Association of American Writers and Artists, a copy of which accompanies this Resolution; and

3. That a Conference of American Writers and Artists be held in Havana, to promote an effective *rapprochement* between the intellectual leaders and artists of the Americas.

(Approved December 19, 1936).

Appendix 47

XXI. PAN AMERICAN RADIO-BROADCASTING HOUR

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RECOMMENDS:

1. That all the Nations represented at this Conference establish periodical, continental communication by means of radio broadcasting.

2. That this communication be named, in accordance with its aims, the Pan American Hour.

3. That this radio broadcasting be made as frequently as possible until such time as a daily program can be carried out.

4. That the most powerful station in each country be used for this broadcast, as the several administrations may determine.

5. That all the American countries shall participate with equal rights in the work of radio-broadcasting propaganda; and the regulation of its operation be entrusted to the Pan American Union, the quota basis of which shall determine the contributions corresponding to each country, to meet the cost of maintaining the Pan American Radio Hour.

6. That the Pan American Hour shall make mention of, and comment upon all happenings of importance occurring in the nations of the Continent; shall announce Governmental dispositions of major importance, the publication of works of merit and utility for America, etc., and shall take advantage of national independence anniversaries of other consecrated historical dates, to refer to them, and to afford biographical data concerning the men who took part in these acts; also to provide knowledge concerning various aspects of the different countries, such as statistical reports, geographical, historical, folklore and other information.

7. That comment upon the local political affairs of the American countries as well as subversive propaganda will not be permitted in the Pan American Hour.

8. That the diplomatic and consular representatives in each Capital of the American Republics shall be charged with the duty to provide

data necessary for the transmissions to which this Recommendation refers.

9. That the Pan American Union be placed in charge of the regulation, and the organization of dependencies, or commissions necessary to put into effect, as soon as possible, this radio-broadcasting hour.

(Approved December 19, 1936).

Appendix 48

XXII. AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHICAL EXCHANGE

WHEREAS:

The Fifth International Conference of American States adopted four recommendations for the promotion of closer intellectual relations among the American countries to the effect that:

1. The study of the establishment of Pan American Libraries be included in the program of future Conferences;
2. The proposal be submitted to the study of the Governments of the American States;
3. The promotion of the exchange of publications and maps be recommended to the Governments;
4. There be established in libraries a section where the intellectual productions of the hemisphere may be kept, without prejudice to the scientific classification of the libraries;

Taking into consideration that these proposals of exchange of publications and the fostering of inter-American bibliographical activities were made more comprehensive and strengthened by the resolution approved by the VII International Conference of American States looking to the coordination of bibliographical lists in national bibliographies, in order to give them continental unity, applying thereto uniform methods of compilation and cataloguing and establishing likewise a plan for the systematic exchange of reports among the libraries and other bibliographical centers;

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RECOMMENDS:

1. That the proper department in each American State, prepare a quarterly bulletin which shall contain bibliographical notices of recently published works and of those that may be published subsequently, whether of a scientific, historical, literary or artistic nature.
2. That the publication of the bulletin be made quarterly and in harmony with the chronological periods of the year.
3. For the purpose of having uniformity in these bibliographical bulletins of all countries, a size of 18 cms. by 26 cms. will be adopted,

using white paper, and whose cover page shall show the following title: "Bibliography of the Republic of for use abroad."

4. A sufficient number of copies of each bulletin shall be sent to the corresponding offices of the American States for distribution among the libraries, cultural institutes and newspapers through the international offices of exchange of publications.

5. The bibliographical notices to be inserted in the bulletin shall give the following data relating to each work: Name and surname of author; title of the work; brief description of its context; if a text for school use, a summary of the program it is planned to follow; characteristics of the edition; address for requests for copies of the book or correspondence referring thereto; price of the work in terms of the currency of the country of origin; titles and dates of previous works by the same author.

6. That in order to further these ends it is declared appropriate that the American States lend full aid to the efficacious distribution of American bibliographies, to their diffusion through an appropriate agency of publicity, which may second this high purpose, and also direct official publicity with a view to having the literary production of the hemisphere better known by means of the centers of study and investigation.

(Approved December 19, 1936).

Appendix 49

XXIII. DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLICATIONS AND WORKS OF ART

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RECOMMENDS:

To the Governments of the American States the propriety of adding to the services of the various Foreign Offices the service of gratuitous transmission of publications and works of art of American authors who may request it, in order to further cultural ends and promote intellectual diffusion. The facilities mentioned above shall include Customs privileges, to be granted following the conclusion of special agreements.

Such distribution shall be made not only to Libraries and public or private Museums and similar institutions but also, when desired, to any person living in American countries

(Approved December 19, 1936).

Appendix 50

XXIV. PROTECTION OF INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

Taking into consideration the urgency of the problem of Inter-American protection of intellectual property, and in view of the work already done in Montevideo by the Commission organized in pursuance of the resolution adopted on December 16, 1933, by the Seventh International Conference of American States,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RECOMMENDS:

That the Pan American Union hasten the necessary formalities for the negotiation of a definite Treaty to assure the protection of the rights of authors, translators and performers, within the terms of the resolution mentioned above.

(Approved December 19, 1936).

Appendix 51

XXV. THE PRESS AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE

At the invitation of the Press Circle of Valparaiso there will meet in that city, on January 8-16, 1937, the First Hispanic-American Congress of Journalists, in the agenda of which there appears a topic entitled "The Press and International Peace".

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace takes note, with deep interest, of the important contribution to moral disarmament which may result from the Hispanic-American Congress of Journalists and asks the journalists of America to give it their active support.

(Approved December 19, 1936).

Appendix 52

XXVI. SUGGESTIONS TO THE AMERICAN PRESS

For the purpose of familiarizing readers in the several American countries with the thoughts of our eminent men and with the progress attained by the various American republics, and in order thus to contribute to better understanding and peaceful relations among these peoples;

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

To suggest to the American press the propriety of publishing articles and contributions which will make known the thoughts of our eminent men and the progress of the American countries.

(Approved December 19, 1936).

Appendix 53

XXVII. DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF INTER-AMERICAN SOLIDARITY AND CO-OPERATION

The Governments of the American Republics, having considered:

That they have a common likeness in their democratic form of government and their common ideals of peace and justice, manifested in the several Treaties and Conventions which they have signed for the purpose of constituting a purely American system tending towards the preservation of peace, the proscription of war, the harmonious development of their commerce and of their cultural aspirations in the various fields of political, economic, social, scientific and artistic activities;

That the existence of continental interests obliges them to maintain solidarity of principles as the basis of the life of the relations of each to every other American nation;

That Pan Americanism, as a principle of American International Law, by which is understood a moral union of all of the American Republics in defence of their common interests based upon the most perfect equality and reciprocal respect for their rights of autonomy, independence and free development, requires the proclamation of principles of American International Law; and

That it is necessary to consecrate the principle of American solidarity in all non-continental conflicts, especially since those limited to the American Continent should find a peaceful solution by the means established by the Treaties and Conventions now in force or in the instruments hereafter to be executed,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

DECLARES:

1. That the American Nations, true to their republican institutions, proclaim their absolute juridical liberty, their unqualified respect for

their respective sovereignties and the existence of a common democracy throughout America;

2. That every act susceptible of disturbing the peace of America affects each and every one of them, and justifies the initiation of the procedure of consultation provided for in the Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation and Reestablishment of Peace, signed at this Conference; and

3. That the following principles are accepted by the American community of Nations:

(a) Proscription of territorial conquest and that, in consequence, no acquisition made through violence shall be recognized;

(b) Intervention by one State in the internal or external affairs of another State is condemned;

(c) Forcible collection of pecuniary debts is illegal; and

(d) Any difference or dispute between the American nations, whatever its nature or origin, shall be settled by the methods of conciliation, or unrestricted arbitration, or through operation of international justice.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 54

XXVIII. CODE OF PEACE

WHEREAS:

In this Conference, it has been impossible to make an exhaustive study of the coordination of all the instruments of American peace, which study has been referred to the Committee of Experts, charged with the codification of international law, in order that the result of their efforts on this subject may be presented to the next International Conference of American States in Lima;

It has not been possible to consider the Mexican project on the Code of Peace, in the totality of its content and in its connected form as an organic whole, although various chapters have been studied separately by the different Commissions occupied with Conciliation, Arbitration and International Judicial Arrangement; and

This project was recommended to the consideration of the American Governments by the Conference of Montevideo in 1933, and was also favourably received by the last Inter-American Scientific Congress which met in Mexico,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

That the Mexican project on the Code of Peace be referred to the Committee of Experts which is preparing the Codification of Inter-

national Law, in order that it may be included among the works which shall be taken into account when presenting a project on the coordination of American Peace Instruments at the next Conference in Lima.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 55

XXIX. COORDINATION OF PACIFIC INSTRUMENTS WITH THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

1. To recommend to the American States members of the League of Nations and signatories to the Pact of Paris, the Saavedra Lamas Treaty, and any other similar agreements signed in the future, that they request the States which are not members of the League and which are parties to the other treaties referred to above, that they cooperate with the League of Nations in the study of the projects for the coordination of those various instruments with the Covenant of the League of Nations;

2. To recommend to the American States which are not members of the League of Nations and are parties to the other aforementioned treaties, that they cooperate with the League of Nations in the measures which it may adopt to prevent war or to settle international conflicts by pacific means, whenever the respective legal systems of said States permit;

3. That in due time the present resolution be brought to the attention of the special Committee now assembled in Geneva to study the coordination of the Covenant of the League of Nations with other peace instruments.

(The delegations of the United States of America and Costa Rica abstain from voting on this Resolution).

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 56

XXX. DEFINITION OF AN AGGRESSOR

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

Taking into consideration the LXXI resolution of the Seventh International Conference of American States, to send the project of

the Delegation of Bolivia on the Definition of the Aggressor and the application of sanctions, and the project of the Delegation of Brazil relative to the strengthening of the means (Article VII) for the prevention of war among the American countries, to the Committee of Experts in charge of the Codification of International Law.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 57

XXXI. COORDINATION OF CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION TREATIES

WHEREAS:

It has not been possible, due to lack of time, to make a careful study of the projects presented to the First Committee by its second Subcommittee; and

The Committee of Experts in charge of codification will meet at Washington next April;

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

1. That the projects presented to the First Committee of Organization of Peace by its Second Subcommittee, entitled "Project of addition to the Inter-American Treaties on Investigation and Conciliation" and "Project of Additional Protocol to the General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration, signed at Washington, January 5, 1929", as well as all the antecedent material and the minutes of the last session of the aforesaid Committee, be sent for study to the Committee of Experts in charge of codification, which will meet at Washington, in order that this body may make a report thereon to the Eighth Pan American Conference at Lima.

(Approved December 21, 1936)

Appendix 58

XXXII. SOCIETY OF AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP

WHEREAS:

The Delegation of the Republic of Haiti has prepared a project for an association of representative men of the several American countries, recognizing that although Inter-American Conferences among other beneficial results give the Delegates of those countries the oppor-

tunity to come into closer personal contact, yet because of the necessarily periodical character of these Conferences they occur at long intervals; and

The policy of the "good neighbors", which is producing such happy results since it was enunciated by the illustrious initiator of the present Conference, to a certain extent requires a more intimate and permanent relationship between the outstanding men of America,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RECOMMENDS:

That under the high patronage of Dr. Harmodio Arias M., ex-President of the Republic of Panama, who shall consult with the Governments of the several American States, the bases be established for an association of a social and cultural character which shall be called "Society of American Friendship," to be composed of the most representative men of the American countries, and located in the city of Panama.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 59

XXXIII. LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

Recognizing the evident importance and significance of the limitation of armaments as an effective means of perfecting any international action directed toward the maintenance of peace;

In the certainty that all the American Nations exercise due respect for the sovereignty of other States, repudiate measures of force and violence and base their procedures upon the standards of international justice and law; and

Recognizing the necessity that the organizations and armaments of national defence shall be sufficient only to guarantee the internal security of the States and their effective protection in case of foreign aggression,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

To recommend that all Governments, which consider themselves in a position to do so, shall conclude general or bilateral agreements to limit, or to limit further, their armaments to the greatest possible extent, within the requirements of internal order, and the justified defence of their sovereignty.

(The Paraguayan Delegation gives its vote of approval with the following reservation: Paraguay does not accept limitation of armaments beyond that stated in its bilateral agreements. Notice is given at the same time that there is a protocol now in force, signed between Paraguay and Bolivia, in which a limitation of armaments is expressly declared).

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 60

XXXIV. HUMANIZATION OF WAR

Reaffirming once more the principles on which are based the various instruments of peace recommended by previous Conventions, and interpreting the moral principles and humanitarian sentiments which form the conscience of the peoples of America,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

1. To declare the formal repudiation of war as a means to settle differences between States.
2. To proscribe the use of chemical elements whose use in war may cause cruelly unnecessary damage.
3. To exclude civil populations as far as possible from the effects of international conflagrations; and
4. To recommend to the American Governments that in the pacts of limitation of armaments which they may sign they include stipulations of a humanitarian character such as those rejecting the poisoning of water, the dissemination of pathogenic bacteria, the use of poisonous gas, the war use of inflammable liquids or substances, etc., in accordance with maximum possibilities calculated by their technical representations.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 61

XXXV. PECUNIARY CLAIMS

WHEREAS:

This topic, which has for its object the formulation of principles tending toward the elimination of force and of diplomatic intervention in cases of pecuniary claims, was submitted for study to the Committee on Juridical Problems; and

In spite of repeated efforts made in the Committee, during the course of various sessions devoted to its examination, as well as in the Subcommittee appointed for the same purpose, it was not possible to secure such unanimity of opinion as might serve as the basis for a Convention between the American Republics; and

The Commission devoted earnest attention to the matter of the collection of public or contractual debts and other claims of an exclusively pecuniary character, leaving for another opportunity the study of Diplomatic Protection for nationals and for legal entities, as well as that of the international responsibility of the State; and

The original project of the Argentine Delegation on this subject having set forth the matter in the first article as follows:

"The High Contracting Parties pledge themselves without any reservations, not to employ armed force, or resort to diplomatic intervention for the collection of public or contractual debts or to support claims of an exclusively pecuniary origin"; and

Having heard the respective Subcommittee the Reporter prepared an article which by itself could have been used to give contractual form to the prohibition intended, and which read:

"The High Contracting Parties pledge themselves without any reservations not to employ armed force, nor to resort to other coercive measures, nor to accept them for the collection of public or contractual debts, nor to support claims of exclusively pecuniary origin"; and

The Commission later prepared two articles for the purpose required by the statement of the topic, but proceeding further to the development of the matter in reference to the use of arbitration, making it compulsory in the following form:

"1. The High Contracting Parties pledge themselves, without any reservations, not to use armed force nor to resort to intervention, nor to accept it for the collection of public or contractual debts, nor to support claims of exclusively pecuniary origin.

"2. If after diplomatic negotiations have been exhausted it has not been possible satisfactorily to settle the matter, the debtor may not refuse to submit the case to arbitration", and

The two proposed articles provoked the announcement on the part of some delegations that they would formulate various reservations in case any such Convention should be drawn up;

As became evident during the course of the deliberations, the reservations referred to would tend fundamentally to leave the opinion established that arbitration could not be resorted to except in the case where after having sought and exhausted local jurisdiction a denial of justice were alleged; and

The Committee, convinced of the slight value of a Convention burdened with reservations, has believed it preferable to limit their tasks to the recommendation that the technical organizations at our dis-

posal make a study of coordination, in order that the matter, with such a valuable antecedent, may be submitted to the consideration of the next International Conference of American States;

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RECOMMENDS:

1.—That in view of the above-mentioned antecedents, and of the Minutes of the Sessions of the Committee on Juridical Problems, a work of coordination and a study of the principles of the subject considered in the said sessions, be undertaken by the Committee of Experts (created by an agreement of the Conference of Montevideo), and that a Project of Convention be submitted to the Eighth International Conference of American States.

2.—That the above-mentioned Conference proceed to the study of the subject which has given rise to this recommendation.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 62

XXXVI. IMMUNITY OF GOVERNMENT VESSELS

Whereas, there was submitted to the consideration of the Committee on Juridical Problems, in connection with the topic on pecuniary claims, a project of the Argentine Delegation regulating the immunity of Government vessels; and

In the said project it is proposed that the immunity of the State in matters which affect legitimate private interests be condemned and that courts of justice take cognizance of claims of private individuals with reference to supplies, repairs, and actions on contracts concerning the vessel, boardings, accidents in navigation, salvage and average, with respect to vessels owned by the State; and

The primary purpose of the project is to put an end to the abuses of the sovereignty of the international juridical person, and that by permitting private individuals who have suffered damages to resort to the courts a real tribute is paid to justice and many claims of pecuniary origin between States are avoided; and

The aforesaid project takes into consideration the Convention on this matter signed at Brussels on April 10, 1926, to which some American countries have adhered,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RECOMMENDS:

1.—That the American Republics adhere to the aforementioned Convention of Brussels of April 10, 1926, clarified in its respective Additional Protocol.

2.—That the project of the Argentine Delegation on the Immunity of Government Vessels be studied by the Commission of Experts created by the Montevideo Conference and afterward submitted to the consideration of the Eighth International Conference of American States.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 63

XXXVII. STUDY OF THE PROBLEMS OF CITIZENSHIP [NATIONALITY]

Whereas, the topic submitted to the Committee on Juridical Problems, has for its object the unification of the basic viewpoint and the municipal legislation of the Americas with respect to citizenship;

Problems relating to the granting of citizenship, naturalization, and loss of citizenship as well as those related to citizenship itself, affect directly interests vital to international juridical persons;

The problem of citizenship is governed by needs which are fundamental in the life of States and is regulated in their laws and constitutions;

It is difficult to secure uniformity in the essential principles related to citizenship and naturalization;

In view of the character and nature of the problems of citizenship, which because of their prominence and importance, require previous study by a technical body so that the International Conferences of American States may achieve fruitful and constructive results;

The delegation of Peru has presented for the consideration of the Committee on Juridical Problems a project on the problems of citizenship, which because of the importance of the principles involved should be made the subject of a careful and conscientious study, and it is advisable that such a study be made by the codifying bodies which are available for this purpose,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

To recommend that the Draft Inter-American Convention on Nationality, presented by the Delegation of Peru, be submitted to the study and consideration of the Commission of Experts created by the Montevideo Conference, and afterwards be considered by the Eighth International Conference of American States to meet at Lima.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 64

XXXVIII. MONETARY CONFERENCE

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

To recommend to the Pan American Union to determine, as soon as possible after consultation with the various American Governments, whether it would be opportune to hold a meeting of delegates of the Ministries of Finance and of the Central Banks of the American countries to study and endeavor to bring about monetary stabilization and the liberalization or termination of the systems of exchange control established as a result of the depression by the various States members of the Pan American Union.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 65

XXXIX. RATIFICATION OF THE CONVENTIONS OF THE
PAN AMERICAN COMMERCIAL CONFERENCE OF BUENOS
AIRES*The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace*

RESOLVES:

1. To declare as of great propriety the carrying out as soon as possible of the principles approved at the Pan American Commercial Conference held in 1935 in the City of Buenos Aires.

2. To recommend the early ratification of the following Conventions, which were signed at that time: Convention relating to the suppression of smuggling; Convention concerning the creation of a Pan American tourist passport and a transit passport for vehicles; Convention referring to transit of airplanes and the Convention for the creation of Pan American commercial Committees and their regulation, as elaborated by the Pan American Union.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 66

XL. SANITARY POLICE REGULATION OF VEGETABLE AND ANIMAL PRODUCTS

WHEREAS:

Agricultural and cattle-raising industries constitute the principal sources of wealth of almost all of the American countries, so that it is of the greatest common interest to adopt measures of an international character for sanitary animal and vegetable inspection, in order to prevent propagation of epidemics and parasites and to secure their elimination;

The project creating an inter-American organization intended to assure sanitary rules for animal and vegetable products, aside from its legal-economic aspect, involves a phase essentially technical in character, the solution of which requires examination and decision by specialists, after due consideration of the whole history, American as well as European;

An organization of this nature may become highly beneficial through technical advice which would be available for American countries; and

The creation of this organization is of real economic value, since it would assure adequate sanitary supervision of the vegetable and animal life in the various countries of America, and would assist international commerce in live-stock and agricultural products, eliminating unjustified objections of a prophylactic nature which restrict imports,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

1. To request the Pan American Union to prepare at an early date a project of convention referring to the creation of the Pan American Institute of Vegetable and Animal Sanitation, in accordance with the suggestion of the Delegation of Uruguay, in order that it may be consulted on these subjects by the several Governments of the American countries early enough prior to holding the Inter-American Conference on Agriculture, to meet in Mexico in 1937.

2. To recommend that, in the preparation of the project, the following background of this question be kept in mind:

(a). The conventions signed in Montevideo in 1912 relating to sanitary regulations for animals, and in 1913 relating to agricultural protection.

(b). The Statutes of the International Office of Animal Epidemics, proposed in 1921 by the International Conference for the study of animal epidemics.

(c). The regulations of the International Scientific Council of Agriculture, created by the General Assembly of the International Institute of Agriculture of Rome, in 1926.

(d). The International Convention for the Sanitary Protection of Vegetables, signed in 1929, and recommended by the International Institute of Agriculture of Rome.

(e). The pertinent recommendations and resolutions of the Inter-American Conference of Agriculture of Washington of 1930.

(f). The resolutions relating to sanitation agreed upon at the fourth Pan American Commercial Conference of Washington of 1931.

(g). The project for the establishment of the Inter-American Institute for Scientific Investigations, presented by the Brazilian Delegation at the Seventh Inter-American Conference of Montevideo in 1933.

(h). The resolution on the creation of an inter-American organization of Animal and Vegetable Sanitary Police approved by the Pan American Commercial Conference of Buenos Aires of 1935.

(i). And the statement of reasons for the project for the creation of the Pan American Sanitary Institute presented by the Uruguayan Delegation at the present Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace; the additions to the Uruguayan project presented at this Conference by the Cuban and Mexican Delegations and all other material presented to this Conference.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 67

XLI. FERRY SERVICE TO INSULAR COUNTRIES

Whereas, the insular American countries have the same interest as the continental countries in being connected with the other American Nations; and

Systems of ferry-boats can be considered prolongations of roads, in that they provide facilities for the transportation of motor vehicles,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

To recommend to the interested Governments the study of possibilities for the extension of existing services to connect with each other and with the continent, Cuba, Haiti, Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico by means of a system of ferry-boats; and

To recommend also to the same Governments the use of such means of connection in all cases where science or economic difficulties do not indicate some more practicable means.

Appendix 68

XLII. ORGANIZATION OF AN INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTE
OF ECONOMICS AND FINANCE

WHEREAS:

The project for the organization of the Inter-American Institute of Economics and Finance, approved unanimously in the Plenary Session of the Pan American Conference of Montevideo, on December 23, 1933, should have been referred for its final formulation to the Financial Conference of Santiago, Chile, which has not been held; and

In order to guarantee Inter-American organization of commerce, economics and finance, it is urgent to carry out the basic project approved at Montevideo;

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

(a) The Pan American Union shall include, in the agenda of the next Pan American Conference, to be held at Lima, the project approved at the Seventh Conference in Montevideo, for the creation of the Inter-American Institute of Economics and Finance.

(b) The Pan American Union shall suggest to the American Governments, at the proper time, that they include experts in economics, finance and banking in the delegations which will represent them at the Pan American Conference in Lima, and that the Delegates have sufficient power to sign a Convention to organize definitely the Inter-American Institute of Economics and Finance.

(c) It is understood that none of the participating Governments is by the present bound or obligated in any way with regard to the technical aspects or cost of the proposed organization.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 69

XLIII. BARRIERS TO MARITIME AND FLUVIAL
COMMUNICATIONS*The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace*

RESOLVES:

To recommend to the American Governments the immediate negotiation of bilateral or multilateral treaties, whereby they pledge themselves, as far as possible, not to create barriers or charges, national, state or municipal, legal or administrative, for taxation, protectionist or consular purposes, concerning maritime or fluvial communications.

It is likewise recommended to reduce existing barriers and charges, on a basis of exact reciprocity, including maritime or fluvial transportation, in order not to hinder the transit of persons and commodities and to promote Pan American commercial interchange.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 70

XLIV. EQUALITY OF TREATMENT IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE

WHEREAS:

The Governments of the American Republics meeting in Buenos Aires are convinced that the growth of international trade can serve to strengthen greatly the foundations of peace by improving the material welfare and contentment of nations and by drawing them together in mutual understanding and interest; but

Recognize that these important benefits of trade will only be achieved if governmental policies which regulate trade conform to the spirit of equity and neighborliness; and

Recognize that, as a world condition which has affected all countries, discriminatory practices which impair the advantages naturally enjoyed by various countries in international trade tend to give rise to dissatisfaction and ill-will and, thereby, to frustrate the peaceful ends which trade should serve;

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RECOMMENDS:

That the Governments of the American Republics reaffirm the statement enunciated by the Seventh International Conference of American States that "the principle of equality of treatment stands and must continue to stand as the basis of all acceptable commercial policy";

That each Government declare its determination to bend every effort, having in mind the different national economies, towards the objective of enforcing in all the phases of its general commercial policy the peaceful and equitable principle of equality of treatment, and recommends that the Governments of all countries adopt this principle in their commercial policies, and in accordance therewith suppress as soon as possible all discriminatory practices including those arising in connection with import-license systems, exchange control, and bilateral clearing and compensation agreements.

(With the reservation by El Salvador to the effect that due to its special geographic and economic situation it cannot comply imme-

diately with the doctrine contained in the above recommendation while the factors obtain which require it to maintain the existing dispositions and organization. See minutes of the Fifth Committee, meeting of December 17, published in the Diario of the Conference December 21, 1936).

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 71

XLV. IMMIGRATION

As the immigration current is an important factor in the policy of colonization, whose results affect international peace, and as in the American Continent there are large unpopulated areas whose capacity for receiving immigrants, if duly investigated, would help to meet peaceably through bilateral agreements the reciprocal necessities of countries of emigration and countries of immigration;

Bearing in mind the conclusions of the different international conferences in which the legal status of the immigrant has been studied, but without going deeply into the aspects of economic, social, racial or moral selection of immigrants, and also the numerous treaties concluded in the field of immigration and labor problems;

Considering that at the Labor Conference which met at Santiago de Chile, January 2-14, 1936, it was recommended that the Governing Board of the International Labor Organization request the latter to engage in special studies concerning emigration from Europe to America, dealing with the problem in all its different aspects;

Believing that it would be advantageous from every point of view that such studies should be made together with others under the direction of the Pan American Union, especially in determining the degree in which each American State member of said Union can offer to receive immigration under its peculiar circumstances;

Taking into account that it is inherent in the sovereignty and essential necessities of States to secure harmonious development of its population from the ethnical, cultural, economic, demographic and juridical viewpoints; and

Acknowledging the fullest recognition of the right of each country to enact its own laws, with regard to emigration and immigration;

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

1. To recommend to the States members of the Pan American Union at their earliest convenience to make studies of their respective ability to receive immigration, which they will communicate to the

Pan American Union so that it may bring them to the attention of the other American Nations; without prejudice, however, to the data and information which the International Labor Office may have gathered on the subject in response to the Resolution of Santiago de Chile;

2. These studies shall be added to those of Geneva and shall be used to prepare draft conventions and recommendations as bases for bilateral labor treaties; taking into account, however, as far as possible the distinction between spontaneous immigration and directed immigration between the European and American States to the extent deemed convenient;

3. That within these limits the Conference recommends to the Governments that the preparation of appropriate standard treaties be put in charge of a committee of experts of the American countries, which shall meet as soon as possible so that their conclusions may be considered by the next Pan American Conference to be held at Lima;

4. Besides the above mentioned investigations the said Committee shall consider, as far as possible, the conclusions of the First International Conference of Immigration and Emigration of Havana of 1928; those submitted by the Carnegie Institute of Washington in accordance with the Second Meeting of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, and those of the Labor Conference of the American States held at Santiago de Chile in 1936.

5. That, in view of the program of work proposed for the Conference on Higher Learning to be held at Paris in 1937, organized by the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, it is recommended that the American countries prepare memoranda and other reports on the immigration problem and on the distribution of raw materials so that they may be taken up at the above mentioned meeting.

(The Delegation of the United States of America abstains from voting).

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 72

XLVI. RESTRICTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE

CONSIDERING:

That the development of international trade unquestionably contributes to the progress and well-being of nations;

That closer commercial relationships contribute to drawing peoples together and create bonds of greater solidarity between the countries which maintain them; and that one of the most justifiable desires of the American Republics has always been to strengthen in every way the bonds of peace which unite them;

That the greater the interchange, the greater also will be the possibility for each country to specialize in those collective activities which will assure to it a maximum return with a minimum effort;

That this trade is being impeded by a great number of excessive or unreasonable restrictions and prohibitions, which have considerably diminished its volume;

That such restrictions and prohibitions give rise to discontent and uncertainty as well as to fear and disputes among all countries;

That it is essential, at this time, as a preliminary step toward eliminating and gradually reducing said prohibitions and restrictions, to prevent increase in the obstacles which hinder international trade and render it more difficult; and

Having in mind the recommendations approved in the International Economic Conference held under the auspices of the League of Nations in 1927, and the conclusions of the subsequent Conferences of that organization; especially with respect to the effects of the "clearing" agreements as established by the Economic Committee of Geneva in 1935; and ratifying the declaration of principles approved in the Inter-American Conference of Montevideo in 1933 and the resolution adopted in the Pan American Commercial Conference of Buenos Aires in 1935;

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RECOMMENDS:

1. That the American States abstain, so far as possible, from raising or augmenting tariff barriers and every other kind of restrictions which directly or indirectly hinder international trade and resulting payments;

2. That immediately, and to the extent that the several national economies permit, a policy of abolishing and gradually reducing the said excessive or unreasonable prohibitions and restrictions upon international commerce be undertaken and carried forward by each of the said States, through the conclusion or revision of bilateral economic or commercial Agreements and Treaties and through unilateral action by each country;

3. That these recommendations become effective as early as possible in order that the Eighth Inter-American Conference to be held soon in Lima, and the Economic Financial Conference, which is to be held in Santiago, Chile, may mark a definite step towards a system of greater freedom in international commerce; and

RESOLVES:

4. To invite all Governments which do not participate in this Conference to follow the policy proposed in the present recommendation.

(With the reservation by El Salvador to the effect that due to its special geographic and economic situation it cannot comply immedi-

ately with the doctrine contained in the above recommendation while the factors obtain which require it to maintain the existing dispositions and organization. See minutes of the Fifth Committee, meeting of December 17, published in the Diario of the Conference December 21, 1936).

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 73

XLVII. INTER-AMERICAN MARITIME COMMUNICATIONS

Whereas, the establishment of a special steamship service, facilitating transportation and increasing inter-American commerce through its promotion of economic relations and a more intimate knowledge between the peoples of this Continent, constitutes one of the most valuable means for maintaining and developing between them a deep spirit of cooperation and solidarity;

Taking into account that the adoption of some of the decisions concerning a Pan American merchant marine, voted by the Pan American Commercial Conference of Buenos Aires, 1935, would constitute a practical and highly useful measure, which would permit beginning or intensifying the transport of products of each American country to the other consuming markets of the American Continent; and

There do not now exist direct, frequent and regular maritime communications between all the American countries,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RECOMMENDS:

1. a) That the American States interested in the development of Inter-American maritime communications, commence negotiations with a view to concluding bilateral or multilateral conventions destined to organize a shipping service meeting the conditions set forth in Article 2 of this recommendation;

b) That the American States, in order to assist the promotion of said services, should grant to such ships maximum administrative facilities and advantages with regard to port dues and other levies affecting navigation, to the extent permitted by the treaties and internal legislation of each country. Such facilities might be conceded spontaneously or at the request of the countries which may sign conventions of said character; and

c) That the American countries which may be interested in attracting such ships to their ports, should agree among themselves on the granting of subsidies, taking into account the volume of their mutual import and export trade.

2. As a basis for such treaties, the following principles are recommended for adoption:

a) The ships in question must maintain regular navigation services. No country can have more than two ships. The ships must be registered in one of the Contracting States and, to that effect, they shall comply with the requirements established in that State for the granting of the right to fly the national flag. Nevertheless, these requirements may be fulfilled either by nationals of one of the High Contracting Parties or, by previous special agreement by a consortium of nationals of different Contracting States interested in a given navigation line. In this last case, however, the maximum number of ships which may receive such special benefits should be two for any consortium of the States whose nationals own or operate the ships. The capacity and character of the ships will be determined by the State or group of States to which they belong but in addition to the facilities for the transportation, loading and unloading of merchandise, they must possess to a reasonable degree facilities for the transportation of commercial agents or passengers.

b) The minimum requirements for the service of these ships as to ports and frequency of voyages, shall be fixed by the interested States; but it should be obligatory to call, without transshipment, at the ports of at least three American nations. The calls at the various ports shall be alternating, so that the different lines shall call at ports of different States signatories of bilateral or multilateral treaties established in the terms fixed by this article.

c) Ships receiving such benefits shall accept samples of products of the States signatories to said conventions; so that such products may be exhibited for commercial advertising. On such ships the transportation of merchandise of national origin, on indefinite consignment when accompanied by the respective commercial agent, may be permitted. These goods may be sold, in whole or part, in the ports of call, in accordance with the facilities which the laws provide for consular and custom house clearance.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 74

XLVIII. TRANSPORTATION BY AIR

Whereas, the reduction in the cost of rates, fares, and freight charges would considerably increase the use of airplanes, which is at present one of the most effective means of communication and interchange of ideas between men; and

Recognizing that the development of air-transport contributes to a better knowledge and understanding among the American peoples, and aids in the maintenance of a lasting peace,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RECOMMENDS:

1.—That the American Governments study and, in so far as possible, apply measures tending toward a reduction in the cost of air-transport, and the simplification of present administrative formalities.

2.—That, to the same end and with the intention that this matter be considered in the Conference on Aviation, to be held in Lima in 1937, the Governments investigate carefully the charges, taxes, and fees falling upon air-transportation of persons, mail and freight, between the American Republics, and which affect the cost and development of such service.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 75

XLIX. STANDARD OF LIVING

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RECOMMENDS:

That the Governments represented carry out, as soon as possible, a careful survey of the standards of living and the economic indices of the various regions within their territories.

The Pan American Union shall be charged with the responsibility to determine the outlines which these surveys shall follow, and to coordinate the results on a basis to make them so far as possible, open to study and comparison. These studies shall be carried on without affecting those undertaken by the International Labor Office, and shall be additional to those of Geneva.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 76

L. BOY SCOUTS AND GIRL SCOUTS AND INTER-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP

Whereas, youth without distinction of race, of intellectual culture or of fortune, must be the strongest support for the maintenance of peace between peoples; and

The organizations of boy and girl scouts serve, as few others, this high and noble purpose, and should be encouraged and helped to carry on their work of good will;

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

To recommend to the American countries which may not already have done so to promote scouting and to place it under the patronage of the Governments;

That the organizations of the American countries unite in one co-ordinated inter-American entity;

That inter-American conferences and scout jamborees be held periodically under the direction of the continental organization, national groups to send delegations of leaders, boy scouts and girl scouts to these meetings;

That until the inter-American entity be organized, the Central Committee of Scouts shall serve as a medium for the preparation of the periodical meetings of the different groups;

That the groups of the different countries and the inter-American entity maintain relations with the rest of the world; and

That the Congresses or jamborees be held successively in the various countries of America.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 77

LI. TEACHING OF CIVICS

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

1. To recommend to the Governments of the American Republics that they emphasize and generalize the teaching of civics, in all grades of primary and secondary schools, in schools for adults, and in other centers of education controlled by the State, adopting the necessary texts so that the instructors may teach the ideals of democracy and peace and the application of this ideology in the laws of the different American countries; and

2. To promote a competition, which shall be organized and patronized by the Pan American Union, to obtain a textbook of inter-American civics, drafted in accordance with the spirit of this resolution.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 78**LII. COOPERATION OF PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS IN THE
WORK OF PEACE**

In the conviction that it would be possible to give much greater significance to the most important task of promoting good understanding and cultural relations between the members of the family of American nations if the groups which form public opinion, such as labor organizations, youth societies, women's clubs, peace societies and social-service organizations, would accept seriously their responsibility in this respect,

*The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace***RESOLVES:**

To recommend that the Governments of the American Republics, by the means and in the manner believed most convenient, shall seek to promote the cooperation of such groups and of other appropriate organizations, in matters concerning inter-American friendship. This work shall be carried out:

1. By encouraging these organizations which form public opinion in their efforts to develop among themselves, and in their communities, a greater appreciation of the culture of other American peoples;

2. By facilitating the exchange of visits and other relations between such groups in all the American countries; and,

3. By organizing the scientific investigation of all matters tending to promote the spirit of peace among peoples, as a basic element of international cooperation.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 79**LIII. PERIODICAL INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCES ON
EDUCATION**

Whereas, for greater mutual knowledge of teaching in American countries and cooperation of the States with regard to the improvement of teaching and the efficiency of educational systems for scientific and cultural interchange between pedagogic and social-service institutes of the various nations; for the preparation of adequate textbooks for fostering inter-American brotherhood; for common standards of curricula and professional titles; in short, for the spiritual unity of the American nations,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RECOMMENDS:

1. That the Inter-American Conferences on Education meet regularly and periodically with a view to considering all matters serving to establish firmer bonds between directors of teaching with regard to methods and aims;

2. That the said Conferences study especially those subjects concerning the means of attaining in all America the revision of textbooks, approving standards similar to those agreed upon between the Republics of Argentina and Brazil which embraced this important question in form and substance;

3. Distribution in teaching and cultural centers of each of the American States of selected works of American authors; and

4. Publication in the languages of the various States of a library of selected American authors in literature, history, science, political science, law and art.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 80

LIV. HOMAGE TO THE PAN AMERICAN UNION AND TO THE
PAN AMERICAN SANITARY BUREAU

WHEREAS:

Good inter-American relationships require a growing cooperation of the respective countries in every phase of social, economic and intellectual life;

Conventions and Resolutions adopted in this and former International Conferences of American States have recommended that the Governments give reciprocal aid in all matters which may contribute to the betterment of internal conditions of life, believing that the progress of each country is an important influence in the well-being of the community of American nations; and

Such work of mutual aid is done principally by means of existing organizations of collaboration, whose effective Pan American labor it is necessary to recognize and encourage;

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

Pan American Union

1. To express to the Pan American Union the appreciation of the American Republics of its excellent collaboration in the work of the Conference.

2. To point out that for the proper fulfilment of the Conventions and resolutions adopted in this Conference it is necessary that greater scope be given to the functions of the Pan American Union; and

3. To request the Governing Board of the Pan American Union to make the necessary study, which must include coordination of the work of the various international American organizations, and its relations with organizations of similar purpose in this and other Continents, and to report and propose concrete suggestions and conclusions to the Eighth International Conference of American States.

Pan American Sanitary Bureau

1. To take note of the progress already made and the plans for future action of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, particularly with regard to the betterment of the health and well-being of the American peoples, of their progress in matters of municipal and rural hygiene, nutrition, housing, water supply and drainage services, and control of infectious and occupational diseases.

2. To recognize that the work of effective cooperation between the American Nations in sanitary matters facilitates their mutual and intelligent intercommunication, and avoids delays and obstacles to international commerce, and that in this respect considerable results have already been obtained.

3. To suggest the propriety of extending even further the activities of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, as soon as possible, to which end this resolution shall be transmitted to the Pan American Sanitary Conference, to be held in Bogotá, Colombia, in 1938.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 81

LV. PAN AMERICAN EXPOSITION OF FINE AND INDUSTRIAL ARTS

WHEREAS:

There exists undoubtedly a bond and correlation between the indigenous arts of the various Republics in both the Americas, a chain extending without a break from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego;

The study of these evidences of culture, the exhibition of their works, the encouragement of the study of artistic epochs which inspired rich native creations, their classification and organization, is to undertake a fruitful task for the development of closer spiritual relations between the American peoples; and

It is desirable to hold a complete exposition of such arts, from their original sources down to modern technical achievements and their

universal applications, in order to arrange, collect and exhibit them with the greatest precision for the information of students of the Americas and of the world;

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

1.—That, in the year 1940 the first Inter-American Exposition of Fine and Industrial Arts, of the Colonial and Pre-Columbian periods, be held in the city of Buenos Aires, with the participation of all the Nations of this Continent.

2.—That the Governments of the American Republics organize, within a period of not more than six months, the necessary technical Commissions, and name delegates to the Central Commission of the Exposition, which the Government of the Argentine Republic shall organize, for this purpose.

3.—To recommend that the American Governments grant customs facilities for carrying out this Exhibition.

4.—That the Exposition be inaugurated together with an Inter-American Conference of Arts, in order to establish standards for safeguarding the artistic riches of the Continent, and to make known throughout the world the intellectual and artistic culture of the American countries.

5.—That for purposes of the above-mentioned Exposition each Government, at its own expense, shall erect its own building.

6.—That the Governments of the American Republics appoint within three months their scientific representatives to the Historical Congress to meet in Buenos Aires in July, 1937.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 82

LVI. INFORMATION ON INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RECOMMENDS:

That in the bibliographical bulletin of the national or official library of each country whose establishment is recommended in an earlier resolution, there be indicated the works recognized as intellectual property.

Copies of this bulletin shall be sent for purposes of information to the copyright offices of the other countries and to the Columbus Library of the Pan American Union in Washington.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 83

LVII. COMMEMORATION OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

WHEREAS:

The year 1942 will mark the four hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of America;

Adequate preparation to celebrate so great an historical occasion with effective splendor and solemnity will afford the opportunity to promote closer intellectual and cultural relations between the peoples of this part of the world, propitious for the development of the spirit of moral disarmament, to which section 10 of Chapter VI of the program of this Conference refers; and

The Pan American Columbus Society has for years been working toward the commemoration simultaneously in all the American countries of the four hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of America, in order to obtain from each one of them the sympathy and fraternal cooperation which was received in the commemoration of the fourth centenary of the discovery of America, concerning which a resolution of the First International Conference of American States of Washington, made reference,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RECOMMENDS:

1. That all Governments and peoples of America commemorate this important and significant historical event with adequate ceremonies;
2. That they lend to the Pan American Columbus Society moral aid and intellectual cooperation so that this commemorative event may culminate in a bond of spiritual union between the peoples of the American world; and
3. That the Governments and peoples of America, in the commemoration of this glorious occasion, give a marked Pan American character to the celebrations organized for this purpose, as a means of reaffirming continental solidarity.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 84

LVIII. HOMAGE TO THE PIONEERS IN AMERICAN AVIATION

WHEREAS:

The Seventh International Conference of American States, held at Montevideo, resolved that a monument be erected at the aerodrome

of the city of La Paz in homage to the pioneers of world aviation, Santos Dumont, Brazilian, and Wilbur and Orville Wright, North Americans,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

Ratifies this resolution and recommends to the Governments of the American nations that the happy proposal unanimously approved at the aforementioned Conference in Montevideo, be given effect.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 85

LIX. ARTISTIC AND CULTURAL COOPERATION

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RECOMMENDS:

To the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, the study of a plan for the development of closer cooperation between American Academies, Museums of Arts, Sciences, History, Archeology, and Folklore, for the purpose of carrying out works of common interest.

This plan to be drafted by the Pan American Union, should provide the bases for the organization of Pan American Expositions of Fine Arts in the capital cities in which Inter-American Conferences are to be held, and coincidentally with these Conferences.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 86

LX. AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
COLLECTION

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RECOMMENDS:

To the Governments of the American nations that they give support to the plan for an American Ethnological and Historical Collection as approved by the International Committee of the League of Nations, whose agent is the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation established in Paris.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 87

LXI. COLUMBUS LIGHTHOUSE

Whereas, the Governments of the American Republics have adhered to the resolutions of the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh International Conferences of American States, recommending the erection, in the capital of the Dominican Republic, of a Memorial Lighthouse to Columbus, with the cooperation of the peoples of America and of any others who may desire to participate, and His Excellency Rafael L. Trujillo Molina, on October 12, 1936, took the first step looking toward the construction of the Lighthouse;

Whereas, this collective tribute of admiration, gratitude and respect for the Discoverer will, as His Excellency General Agustín P. Justo, President of the Argentine Nation, recently said, be the symbol of the Union of America; and

Whereas, the maintenance of peace, which is the object of this Conference, means so much for the union and solidarity of the peoples of America, and this laudable achievement should have an adequate and lasting commemoration,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

To request the Governments of the American Republics that, as soon as possible, they contribute their support toward the erection of the Columbus Memorial Lighthouse, which shall be the symbol of the fraternity and the Union of America.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 88

LXII. PUBLIC HOMAGE TO THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND OF THE ARGENTINE NATION

WHEREAS:

The Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States, who initiated the Conference, performed a mission of peace; and the Honorable Agustín P. Justo, President of the Argentine Nation, helping the meeting and happy development of this Conference, has given eminent service to the cause of peace;

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

RESOLVES:

- 1.—To pay solemn public homage to the Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America.
- 2.—To pay solemn public homage to the Honorable Agustín P. Justo, President of the Argentine Nation.

(Approved December 21, 1936).

Appendix 89

LXIII. ACKNOWLEDGMENT TO THE AUTHORITIES OF THE
CONFERENCE

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace resolves to express its deep gratitude for the brilliant work of His Excellency Dr. Carlos Saavedra Lamas who has presided so skilfully over the sessions of the Conference, and also its acknowledgment of the admirable services rendered by the Secretary General His Excellency Dr. Felipe Espil and by the Pro-Secretary Dr. Dívico A. Fürnkorn and all the gentlemen of the Secretariat; and further, resolves to express to the Government and people of the Argentine Republic the deep regard of the Conference for their constant courtesy and generous hospitality towards the Delegates throughout their sojourn in this great capital.

(Approved December 23, 1936).

Appendix 90

LXIV. VOTE OF COMMENDATION TO THE MEDIATORY
NATIONS IN THE CHACO CONFLICT, AND APPEAL TO
BOLIVIA AND PARAGUAY

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, assembled in Buenos Aires at the instance of President Roosevelt and under the auspices of President Justo, after accomplishing the fruitful task of giving life to the sentiments of solidarity that animate the peoples of the New World, still feeling the impression left by the words of the eminent heads of the Delegations of Bolivia and Paraguay which sounded in the assembly as a promising assertion of the decisive will to settle definitely the differences still separating the two mediterranean Republics of this part of our continent; and convinced that there is a

noble effort to find a practical means to liquidate the old territorial or frontier dispute which was the cause of the unfortunate strife that for three long years darkened the peaceful horizon of America;

RESOLVES:

1.—To express its solidarity with the action of mediation of the six American States which after obtaining the suspension of hostilities, the demobilization of the armies, the repatriation to their homes of thousands of prisoners of war and the reduction of the troops of both ex-belligerents to a maximum of five thousand men, exacting at the same time the mutual pledge to make no further acquisitions of war material excepting such as is indispensable for replacement, as well as the pledge of non-aggression, are now exerting themselves diligently to eliminate the cause of the armed conflict;

2.—To give a vote of commendation to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, United States of America, Peru and Uruguay, who are showing the world the effective value of mediation when carried out by men of good will, worthy of the mission undertaken;

3.—To reiterate the declaration of August 3, 1932, on territorial acquisitions, in accordance with the provisions of the Protocol of June 12, 1935, and of the Protocolized Act of January 21, 1936, and, finally;

4.—At the moment the representatives of the 21 American Republics depart to make a supreme appeal that the Governments and peoples of Bolivia and Paraguay, giving to America the greatest example of their love for concord and their unshakeable faith in justice and law, arrive as soon as possible to a direct understanding or, failing that, arrive at an arbitral compromise in homage to that juridical structure which through signed Conventions and Treaties is being transformed into an invariable standard of international American conduct.

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace deems it an honor to assert positively that the two noble and friendly sister Republics will not fail to respond to its appeal in this hour of dangerous confusion in the world in which a whole united and solidary continent has just offered the highest example of its devotion and respect for the eternal juridical and moral principles that govern its relations.

(Approved December 23, 1936).

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